

with reference to House bill 2082; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3657. Also, petition of Ida May Samuelsen and others, with reference to House bill 2082; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3658. By Mr. GAMBLE (by request): Petition signed by Mary Ann Harwood and other residents in Westchester County, N. Y., opposing the enactment of House bill 2082; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3659. Also (by request), petition signed by Harold Werner and other residents in Westchester County, N. Y., opposing the enactment of House bill 2082; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3660. By Mr. ELSTON of Ohio: Petition of Rev. Milton W. Dills, minister, Columbia Church of Christ, Cincinnati, Ohio, and 58 members and friends of his congregation, urging support of House bill 2082, providing for the prohibition of intoxicating liquors for the duration of the war and the period of demobilization thereafter; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3661. By Mr. McLEAN: Resolution of the Federation of Churches of Rahway, N. J., memorializing the Congress of the United States, through its Senators and Representatives, to set up legislative machinery to study the problems of a just and lasting peace based on the Christian principle that all men everywhere are the children of a Divine Father, who desires that they live in love and charity with one another; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

3662. By Mrs. SMITH of Maine: Petition of members of the Pratt Memorial Methodist Church of Rockland, Maine, realizing the menace of alcoholic beverages to the safety and efficiency of our armed forces and defense workers, urge that action be taken in line with Senate bill 860, to prohibit the sale of all alcoholic liquors in and around these areas; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3663. By the SPEAKER: Petition of the secretary, the national board of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to legislation to prevent inflation; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

3664. Also, petition of the president, the American Institute of Consulting Engineers, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to inadvisability of the gradual extension of engineering duties by various governmental agencies into the field that has been, in the past, normally covered by private practicing engineers; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

3665. Also, petition of the president, the American Institute of Consulting Engineers, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to opposition to the passage of Senate bill 702 and House bill 2100; to the Committee on Patents.

## SENATE

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1943

(Legislative day of Thursday, November 18, 1943).

The Senate met at 12 o'clock noon, on the expiration of the recess.

The Reverend William J. McDonald, Ph. D., of the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C., offered the following prayer:

Come, O Holy Spirit, inspire the Members of this august body with Thy heav-

enly wisdom; guide and direct them so that their deliberations may be fruitful unto good for all our people. Send forth Thy light, illumine their minds to see our problems in proper perspective, thus faithfully discharging their grave responsibility to the Nation and to Thee.

Thou, O Spirit of Love, inflame our hearts with the fire of divine charity so sadly needed in these days of stress and of crisis. Strengthen our wills, make us clearly to realize that every just enactment is but the reflection of Thy eternal law, having its binding force not from any mere human will alone but from a moral authority above and beyond all the powers of earth. In this recognition shall our beloved country prove worthy of her great destiny as a true leader amongst peoples for,

"\* \* \* it is our high duty  
To teach the world the might of moral beauty  
And to stamp God's image truly  
On the struggling soul."  
Amen.

### THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. BARKLEY, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of calendar day Thursday, November 18, 1943, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

### FREEZING OF SOCIAL SECURITY PAY ROLL TAXES

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, on Friday I made a short statement to the press regarding my attitude toward payroll taxes for old-age and survivors' benefits, which, under the existing statute, will increase 100 percent on New Years. I have again presented in the statement my reasons for believing that the payroll taxes should be frozen at the present level. I ask that my statement be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

I shall again move, by amendment to the revenue bill, to freeze social-security payroll taxes for old-age and survivors' benefits at existing rates (1 percent on employers and 1 percent on employees) instead of permitting them to increase 100 percent next New Years, as the existing statute would otherwise require. On my initiative Congress has twice taken this annual action in previous years. I have withheld my conclusions for 1944 until all possible information could be explored. There may be reasons unrelated to old-age benefits which recommend the 100-percent pay-roll-tax increase next January, such as a flank movement against inflationary trends. But I am unable to find any reason, related to the maintenance of adequate reserves for existing old-age benefits, for doubling these payroll taxes on workers and employers next January; and, no matter how important other purposes may be, I shall always be unwilling to use social-security taxes for anything but social-security benefits. We are not entitled to use social-security taxes to finance any part of the war.

For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1943, we collected \$1,130,000,000 in these particular pay-roll taxes. We paid out \$149,000,000 in benefits and \$27,000,000 in administrative expenses. The balance of \$954,000,000 went

into reserve. This brought the reserve last June 30 to \$4,300,000,000. It is obviously vital that this contingent reserve should always be wholly adequate. Congress indicated in 1939 what it considers to be adequate, namely, a reserve 3 times greater than the heaviest annual costs in 5 subsequent years. That rule has been endorsed by Secretary Morgenthau. This heaviest annual cost from 1943 to 1948 is estimated by the Social Security Board from a low of \$415,000,000 to a high of \$813,000,000. The present reserve is about 11 (instead of 3) times the low and better than 5 times the high. Chairman Altmeyer, of the Social Security Board, concedes that if no employer or employee contributions were collected at all in 1944 the reserve assets on December 31, 1944, would amount to about \$4,600,000,000, which is more than 3 times the estimated expenditures 5 years later in 1949. Under such mathematical circumstances, I am unable to justify a 100-percent increase in these payroll taxes on both workers and employers next year.

It should be noted in this connection that the receipts of this fund and its balances are far greater than contemplated in its original set-up—and presumably it was initiated on firm foundations. The formal report of the Senate Finance Committee in 1939 estimated the reserve at the end of 1943 at \$2,651,000,000. Actually it will be nearer \$4,843,000,000. We shall collect more in 1944 pay-roll taxes at the existing 1 percent rates on employers and 1 percent on employees than it was expected we would collect at the contemplated rate of 2 percent on each. Therefore, it seems to me that Congress should again freeze the rate where it is.

It should be clearly understood that this question has nothing to do with the expansion of social-security benefits or coverage. There is decided need for reasonable action in both directions. Congress will meet this issue later. We are concerned at the moment solely with the problem of financing existing benefits and coverage. New rates will, of course, have to be arranged to meet new obligations. But I cannot escape the conviction that present rates are adequate for present obligations for 1 more year, and, I repeat, I am unable to consent that social-security pay-roll taxes should be used for any except social-security purposes.

### CALL OF THE ROLL

Mr. BARKLEY. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

|              |                 |               |
|--------------|-----------------|---------------|
| Alken        | Guffey          | Reynolds      |
| Andrews      | Gurney          | Robertson     |
| Austin       | Hatch           | Russell       |
| Bailey       | Hawkes          | Scruggs       |
| Ball         | Hayden          | Shipstead     |
| Barkley      | Holman          | Smith         |
| Bilbo        | Johnson, Calif. | Stewart       |
| Brewster     | Johnson, Colo.  | Taft          |
| Bridges      | Kilgore         | Thomas, Idaho |
| Brooks       | La Follette     | Thomas, Okla. |
| Buck         | Langer          | Thomas, Utah  |
| Burton       | Lucas           | Tobey         |
| Bushfield    | McClellan       | Truman        |
| Butler       | McFarland       | Tunnell       |
| Capper       | McKellar        | Tydings       |
| Caraway      | Maloney         | Vandenberg    |
| Clark, Idaho | Maybank         | Van Nuys      |
| Clark, Mo.   | Mead            | Wagner        |
| Connally     | Millikin        | Wallgren      |
| Danaher      | Moore           | Walsh         |
| Davis        | Murray          | Wheeler       |
| Downey       | Nye             | Wherry        |
| Eastland     | O'Daniel        | White         |
| Ellender     | Overton         | Wiley         |
| Ferguson     | Pepper          | Willis        |
| George       | Radcliffe       | Wilson        |
| Gillette     | Reed            |               |
| Green        | Revercomb       |               |

Mr. BARKLEY. I announce that the Senator from Washington [Mr. BONE] and the Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS] are absent from the Senate because of illness.

The Senator from Nevada [Mr. McCARRAN] is conducting hearings in Western States for the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys, and is therefore necessarily absent.

The Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD] is absent, visiting with his son who is in the military service.

The Senators from Alabama [Mr. BANKHEAD and Mr. HILL], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. CHAVEZ], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. O'MAHONEY], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. CHANDLER], and the Senator from Utah [Mr. MURDOCK] are detained on important public business.

Mr. WHITE. The Senator from Oregon [Mr. McNARY] is absent because of illness.

The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] is absent on public business.

The Senator from New Jersey [Mr. BARBOUR] is necessarily absent.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Eighty-two Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Maurer, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 763) amending the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, as amended, and for other purposes.

#### EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following letters, which were referred as indicated:

#### PERSONNEL REQUIREMENTS OF A DEPARTMENT AND OFFICES

Letters from the Secretary of War, the Acting Director of the Office of Civilian Defense, and the Secretary of the United States Employees' Compensation Commission, submitting, pursuant to law, estimates of personnel requirements for their respective Department and offices for the quarter ending December 31, 1943; also a letter from the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, submitting, pursuant to law, a revised estimate of personnel requirements under the Veterans' Administration for the quarter ending December 31, 1943 (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Civil Service.

#### LANDS WITHIN NAVAL PETROLEUM RESERVE No. 1, CALIFORNIA

A letter from the Special Assistant to the Secretary of the Navy, reporting, pursuant to law, agreements entered into under authority of the act of June 30, 1938 (52 Stat. 1253) (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

#### EIGHTH BIMONTHLY REPORT, SMALLER WAR PLANTS CORPORATION

A letter from the Chairman of the War Production Board, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report submitted by Brig. Gen. Robert W. Johnson, Chairman of the Board of Smaller War Plants Corporation and Vice Chairman of the War Production Board, cov-

ering the period from August 1 through September 30, 1943 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

#### DISPOSITION OF EXECUTIVE PAPERS

A letter from the Archivist of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a list of papers and documents on the files of the Departments of War, Navy (2), Agriculture (4), Agriculture (War Food Administration), and Labor; War Manpower Commission, Federal Security Agency (3), Civil Service Commission, and Securities and Exchange Commission which are not needed in the conduct of business and have no permanent value or historical interest, and requesting action looking toward their disposition (with accompanying papers); to a Joint Select Committee on the Disposition of Papers in the Executive Departments.

The VICE PRESIDENT appointed Mr. BARKLEY and Mr. BREWSTER members of the committee on the part of the Senate.

#### ADDITIONAL REPORT ON REDUCTION OF NONESSENTIAL FEDERAL EXPENDITURES—FEDERAL PERSONNEL (S. DOC. NO. 131)

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from Mr. BYRD, chairman of the Joint Committee on Reduction of Nonessential Federal Expenditures, transmitting, pursuant to law, an additional report of the joint committee relating to Federal personnel, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed, with an illustration.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD], chairman of the Joint Committee on Reduction of Nonessential Federal Expenditures, I ask that the report just laid before the Senate and ordered printed, also be printed in the RECORD.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The report is as follows:

#### REDUCTION OF NONESSENTIAL FEDERAL EXPENDITURES—FEDERAL PERSONNEL

(Report to the President of the United States, the Vice President of the United States, President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives.)

In accordance with title 6 of the Revenue Act of 1941, Public Law 250, Seventy-seventh Congress, an additional report herewith is presented by the Joint Committee on Reduction of Nonessential Federal Expenditures.

#### FEDERAL PERSONNEL INCREASES (PAID EMPLOYEES)

Last spring the Joint Committee on Reduction of Nonessential Federal Expenditures, alarmed by the ever-swelling number of persons employed by the Federal Government, issued a report (S. Doc. 66, 78th Cong.) which described in detail the overgrowth of the executive branch of the Federal Government and recommended that 300,000 civilian employees be eliminated from pay rolls. Senators BYRD and LANGER introduced an amendment to the Overtime Pay Acts which gave the Director of the Bureau of the Budget authority to order reductions in establishments subject to the overtime pay laws.

Since June 1943 some progress has been made in reducing Federal civilian employment. The following table, showing Federal employment, indicates the necessity for continued reductions:

TABLE I.—Federal employment increase (paid employees in executive branch)

|                    | Personnel | Monthly pay roll |
|--------------------|-----------|------------------|
| Nov. 11, 1918..... | 917,760   | ( <sup>2</sup> ) |
| August 1939.....   | 933,386   | \$141,733,064    |
| August 1940.....   | 1,039,451 | 159,260,975      |
| August 1941.....   | 1,444,985 | 217,772,054      |
| August 1942.....   | 2,450,759 | 391,502,171      |
| March 1943.....    | 2,978,824 | 638,926,265      |
| April.....         | 3,003,539 | 634,324,484      |
| May.....           | 3,039,412 | 610,676,661      |
| June.....          | 3,095,463 | 657,791,453      |
| July.....          | 3,083,495 | ( <sup>1</sup> ) |
| August.....        | 3,020,814 | ( <sup>1</sup> ) |
| September.....     | 2,964,405 | ( <sup>1</sup> ) |

<sup>1</sup>No figures available.

Despite the fact that the first Overtime Pay Act, which increased the working hours of the Government employee applied to at least 2,180,000 Federal civilian employees, or over 70 percent of the Federal employees of the Bureau of the Budget issued reduction orders only to agencies or parts of agencies representing an aggregate of 735,338 employees, or only one-fourth of the Federal civilian employees. Also, when viewed in terms of total Federal civilian employment the reduction orders issued by the Bureau of the Budget have been ineffective. As many Federal civilian employees have been eliminated through recent congressional actions as have been eliminated through the operation of ceiling orders placed upon the number of civilian employees by the Bureau of the Budget under authority contained in the overtime-pay laws. During the period the reduction orders of the Bureau of the Budget were being executed under the first Overtime Pay Act, Federal employment rose from 2,810,871 to 3,005,812, or by 194,941 employees. In other words, while less than one-fourth of Federal employment was being reduced by 16,535 employees, the remainder of the Government service was being increased by 211,476, resulting in a net increase of 194,941 employees.

Figures for September 1943 show that there are now 2,964,405 Federal civilian employees. Some agencies have curtailed recruiting, and a few substantial reductions have been consummated. The committee is of the opinion that despite achievements its recommendations have been disregarded in many instances. Moreover, the First Overtime Pay Act had little salutary effect.

It is because of this failure of the Bureau of the Budget, the Civil Service Commission, and the various departments and agencies to effect recommended reductions that the committee deems it necessary to issue this second personnel report on Federal employment. Should this second request be disregarded, the committee will believe it necessary to recommend legislation to the Congress of the United States which will make reductions in Federal civilian employment mandatory.

#### COMMITTEE RECOMMENDATIONS PARTIALLY FOLLOVED—131,058 FEDERAL EMPLOYEES ELIMINATED FROM FEDERAL SERVICE SINCE JUNE 1943

In June 1943, when the committee issued its first personnel report the all-time peak in Federal employment had been reached. There were then 3,095,463 paid Federal civilian employees. Latest figures which are for September 1943, show that there are 2,964,405 Federal workers, or a reduction of 131,058 employees since June. Table II (page 3) shows Federal civilian employment by department and agency for the months April through September 1943, and increases and decreases in the number of personnel be-



tween June and September, by department and agency.

Committee figures used in table II and throughout this report do not include employees of the White House, employees of the Federal Reserve System, who are not paid with Federal funds, and employees of the legislative and judicial branches of the Federal Government. Nor do they include 40,000 Federal Works Agency project employees in Puerto Rico, 8,375 Farm Security Administration committeemen, over 100,000 Agricultural Adjustment Administration committeemen, 64,000 members of War Price and

Ration Boards of the Office of Price Administration, 160,000 voluntary selective-service workers, 9,000 physicians paid on a fee basis and employed intermittently by the Veterans' Administration, 9,000 volunteer workers of the Weather Bureau, Department of Commerce, 7,000 maritime service enrollees, nor the employees of the quasi-Federal corporations.

Recently, the Civil Service Commission has revised its personnel reporting procedure to include over 300,000 voluntary and unpaid workers, which have never before been considered as Federal employees in the strict

sense of the word. Everyone recognizes that there will be great changes in the number of these unpaid workers from month to month, and from season to season. Any attempt to show decreases, or even increases, in Federal employment by the use of figures which include volunteer and unpaid Federal workers tends to confuse the American people. For example, between June and July 1943 the Commission reports that several agencies have decreased employment; whereas, over the same period of time and in the same agencies committee figures show an increase in the number of paid employees.

TABLE II.—Federal civilian employment, by department and agency, for months of April through September 1943, showing increases and decreases in number of paid employees

|   | April 1943              | May 1943                | June 1943          | July 1943           | August 1943         | September 1943       | Increase, June to September | Decrease, June to September |
|---|-------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Office of the President <sup>1</sup> .....              | 847                     | 854                     | 829                | 795                 | 622                 | 577                  | 141                         | 252                         |
| State Department.....                                   | 8,234                   | 8,249                   | 8,426              | 8,433               | 8,595               | 8,567                | 141                         | 1                           |
| Treasury Department.....                                | 77,651                  | 79,625                  | 81,187             | 84,016              | 82,659              | 84,064               | 2,877                       | 1,354                       |
| War Department.....                                     | 1,356,774               | 1,380,693               | 1,397,956          | 1,382,542           | 1,308,812           | 1,257,988            | 139,968                     | 643                         |
| Justice Department.....                                 | 30,616                  | 30,650                  | 31,088             | 31,376              | 31,025              | 30,445               | 7,920                       | 1                           |
| Post Office Department.....                             | 319,847                 | 313,630                 | 325,105            | 330,913             | 333,025             | 333,025              | 15,314                      | 861                         |
| Navy Department <sup>2</sup> .....                      | 633,206                 | 637,154                 | 669,114            | 679,475             | 684,252             | 684,252              | 2,425                       | 82                          |
| Interior Department.....                                | 37,805                  | 38,060                  | 41,839             | 43,218              | 41,973              | 42,700               | 1                           | 1                           |
| Agriculture Department <sup>3</sup> .....               | 79,176                  | 85,011                  | 80,297             | 78,685              | 80,710              | 77,747               | 2,550                       | 1                           |
| Commerce Department <sup>4</sup> .....                  | 32,836                  | 32,210                  | 32,538             | 32,982              | 32,982              | 34,963               | 1                           | 1                           |
| Labor Department.....                                   | 6,285                   | 6,455                   | 6,202              | 6,318               | 6,304               | 6,120                | 1                           | 1                           |
| National war agencies:                                  |                         |                         |                    |                     |                     |                      |                             |                             |
| Office for Emergency Management: Liaison Office.....    | 18                      | 16                      | ( <sup>5</sup> ) 3 | ( <sup>6</sup> ) 44 | ( <sup>6</sup> ) 68 | ( <sup>6</sup> ) 92  | 0                           | 0                           |
| Committee on Fair Employment Practice.....              | ( <sup>7</sup> ) 6,006  | ( <sup>7</sup> ) 5,660  | 5,191              | 5,036               | 4,969               | 4,767                | 89                          | 424                         |
| Division of Central Administrative Services.....        | 2,362                   | 1,996                   | 2,362              | 2,419               | 2,522               | 2,784                | 422                         | 32                          |
| National War Labor Board.....                           | 1,108                   | 1,092                   | 1,084              | 1,082               | 1,068               | 1,052                | 1                           | 270                         |
| Office of Alien Property Custodian.....                 | 1,418                   | 1,319                   | 1,229              | 1,053               | 979                 | 959                  | 1,340                       | 66                          |
| Office of Civilian Defense.....                         | 1,282                   | 1,352                   | 1,406              | 1,400               | 1,385               | 1,340                | 4,324                       | 19                          |
| Office of Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs.....    | 4,073                   | 4,246                   | 4,543              | 4,705               | 4,550               | 4,324                | 3                           | 3                           |
| Office of Defense Transportation.....                   | 10                      | 10                      | 5                  | 8                   | 9                   | 8                    | 1                           | 75                          |
| Office of Economic Stabilization.....                   | 610                     | 658                     | 717                | 728                 | 723                 | 720                  | 3                           | 3                           |
| Office of Lend-Lease Administration.....                | 1,221                   | 1,299                   | 1,335              | 1,388               | 1,237               | 1,260                | 1                           | 1                           |
| Office of Scientific Research and Development.....      | 3,737                   | 3,828                   | 3,775              | 3,424               | 3,435               | 4,456                | 681                         | 4                           |
| Office of War Information.....                          | ( <sup>8</sup> ) 21,032 | ( <sup>8</sup> ) 20,260 | 20,372             | 20,241              | 19,411              | 19,018               | 1                           | 1,354                       |
| War Production Board <sup>9</sup> .....                 | 38,284                  | 38,141                  | 38,235             | 30,983              | 29,060              | 29,304               | 11,931                      | 600                         |
| War Manpower Commission <sup>10</sup> .....             | 26,003                  | 25,462                  | 25,174             | 24,666              | 24,978              | 24,514               | 90                          | 90                          |
| Selective Service System.....                           | 2,139                   | 2,033                   | 1,926              | 1,699               | 1,637               | 1,836                | 629                         | 601                         |
| War Relocation Authority.....                           | 2,840                   | 2,985                   | 3,341              | 3,615               | 3,720               | 3,970                | 28                          | 767                         |
| War Shipping Administration.....                        | 4,007                   | 4,453                   | 4,447              | 4,925               | 4,986               | 5,048                | 19                          | 61                          |
| Office of Economic Warfare.....                         | 12,270                  | 12,061                  | 12,119             | 12,259              | 12,381              | 12,147               | 1                           | 1                           |
| Office of Censorship.....                               | 53,788                  | 54,595                  | 56,049             | 56,389              | 55,799              | 55,282               | 1                           | 1                           |
| Office of Price Administration.....                     | 1,484                   | 1,481                   | 1,537              | 1,576               | 1,573               | 1,556                | 1                           | 1                           |
| Office of Strategic Services.....                       | 1,277                   | 1,341                   | 1,407              | 1,408               | 1,441               | 1,468                | 61                          | 1                           |
| Petroleum Administrator for War.....                    |                         |                         |                    |                     |                     |                      |                             |                             |
| Independent establishments:                             |                         |                         |                    |                     |                     |                      |                             |                             |
| American Battle Monuments Commission.....               | 4                       | 4                       | 3                  | 2                   | 2                   | 2                    | 1                           | 1                           |
| Bituminous Coal Consumers' Counsel.....                 | 41                      | 39                      | 39                 | 35                  | 34                  | ( <sup>11</sup> ) 39 | 39                          | 66                          |
| Board of Investigation and Research—Transportation..... | 170                     | 169                     | 157                | 123                 | 110                 | 91                   | 11                          | 1                           |
| Civil Aeronautics Board.....                            | 303                     | 305                     | 297                | 307                 | 304                 | 308                  | 1                           | 1                           |
| Civil Service Commission.....                           | 7,142                   | 6,356                   | 7,063              | 6,568               | 6,380               | 6,297                | 766                         | 3                           |
| Employees' Compensation Commission.....                 | 525                     | 524                     | 543                | 538                 | 536                 | 540                  | 5                           | 5                           |
| Export-Import Bank.....                                 | 53                      | 55                      | 55                 | 58                  | 59                  | 60                   | 14                          | 37                          |
| Federal Communications Commission.....                  | 2,296                   | 2,273                   | 2,181              | 2,194               | 2,192               | 2,195                | 1                           | 1                           |
| Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation.....              | 1,185                   | 1,168                   | 1,153              | 1,141               | 1,131               | 1,116                | 1                           | 1                           |
| Federal Power Commission.....                           | 677                     | 680                     | 687                | 694                 | 690                 | 686                  | 1,145                       | 18                          |
| Federal Security Agency.....                            | 32,435                  | 31,455                  | 32,301             | 32,230              | 31,657              | 31,159               | 172                         | 887                         |
| Federal Trade Commission.....                           | 505                     | 488                     | 484                | 479                 | 470                 | 466                  | 1                           | 1                           |
| Federal Works Agency <sup>11</sup> .....                | 23,839                  | 23,050                  | 22,334             | 22,397              | 22,064              | 22,505               | 90                          | 90                          |
| General Accounting Office.....                          | 8,251                   | 8,534                   | 8,734              | 9,086               | 9,224               | 9,621                | 499                         | 418                         |
| Interstate Commerce Commission.....                     | 2,338                   | 2,298                   | 2,268              | 2,256               | 2,201               | 2,178                | 2                           | 2                           |
| Maritime Commission.....                                | 8,046                   | 8,284                   | 8,487              | 8,717               | 8,740               | 8,986                | 237                         | 1,346                       |
| National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics.....        | 3,502                   | 3,767                   | 3,955              | 3,940               | 4,000               | 4,373                | 418                         | 6                           |
| National Archives.....                                  | 383                     | 368                     | 350                | 347                 | 344                 | 344                  | 9                           | 1                           |
| National Capital Housing Authority.....                 | 241                     | 246                     | 253                | 264                 | 270                 | 262                  | 1                           | 4                           |
| National Capital Park and Planning Commission.....      | 20                      | 19                      | 20                 | 21                  | 18                  | 19                   | 1                           | 1                           |
| National Gallery of Art.....                            | 248                     | 247                     | 252                | 251                 | 250                 | 248                  | 1,001                       | 14                          |
| National Housing Agency.....                            | 18,458                  | 18,625                  | 19,303             | 19,789              | 20,061              | 20,304               | 2                           | 3,548                       |
| National Labor Relations Board.....                     | 847                     | 810                     | 809                | 806                 | 773                 | 795                  | 88                          | 106                         |
| National Mediation Board.....                           | 100                     | 104                     | 94                 | 92                  | 87                  | 90                   | 2                           | 51                          |
| Panama Canal.....                                       | 37,958                  | 47,566                  | 37,874             | 38,538              | 37,685              | 34,328               | 2                           | 6                           |
| Railroad Retirement Board.....                          | 1,603                   | 1,632                   | 1,678              | 1,645               | 1,613               | 1,572                | 1                           | 1                           |
| Reconstruction Finance Corporation.....                 | 8,148                   | 8,210                   | 8,311              | 8,472               | 8,478               | 8,349                | 38                          | 51                          |
| Securities and Exchange Commission.....                 | 1,328                   | 1,319                   | 1,314              | 1,308               | 1,299               | 1,263                | 2                           | 2                           |
| Smithsonian Institution.....                            | 415                     | 408                     | 403                | 401                 | 405                 | 405                  | 0                           | 0                           |
| Tariff Commission.....                                  | 321                     | 310                     | 307                | 300                 | 304                 | 301                  | 0                           | 0                           |
| Tax Court of the United States.....                     | 125                     | 128                     | 127                | 126                 | 126                 | 127                  | 1                           | 1                           |
| Tennessee Valley Authority.....                         | 20,197                  | 28,888                  | 28,421             | 28,355              | 28,284              | 27,075               | 237                         | 1,346                       |
| Veterans' Administration.....                           | 44,589                  | 44,228                  | 44,356             | 44,220              | 44,200              | 44,503               | 237                         | 1,346                       |
| Total.....  | 3,003,539               | 3,039,412               | 3,095,463          | 3,093,495           | 3,020,814           | 2,964,405            | 35,373                      | 106,431                     |

<sup>1</sup> Includes only Bureau of the Budget and National Resources Planning Board.

<sup>2</sup> Estimated.

<sup>3</sup> Includes 10,324 employees of stations in the hands of the enemy.

<sup>4</sup> Farm Security Agency committeemen not included.

<sup>5</sup> Includes about 2,900 part-time weather observers of the Weather Bureau.

<sup>6</sup> Abolished.

<sup>7</sup> Established by Executive order, May 27, 1943.

<sup>8</sup> Includes 1,050 employees abroad not previously reported.

<sup>9</sup> Includes Smaller War Plants Corporation.

<sup>10</sup> Includes training within industry and U. S. Employment Service. Also includes the National Youth Administration which was ordered liquidated by Dec. 31, 1943. Does not include the Selective Service System.

<sup>11</sup> Does not include Work Projects Administration project workers.

Table II indicates that between June and September 1943 the majority of the executive departments and agencies have either reduced the number of their paid employees or curtailed the recruiting of new employees. During this period 35 departments and agencies eliminated 166,431 personnel. Substantial reductions in the number of personnel were accomplished by the following departments and agencies: War Department, 139,968 employees; War Manpower Commission, 11,931; Panama Canal, 3,548; Agricultural Department, 2,550; War Production Board, 1,354; Tennessee Valley Authority, 1,346; and the Federal Security Agency, 1,145.

However, between June and September 30, departments and agencies increased the number of their personnel by 35,373 employees. Greatest increases were made by the following departments and agencies: Navy Department, 15,314 employees; Post Office Department, 7,920; Treasury Department, 2,877; Commerce Department, 2,425; and the National Housing Agency, 1,001.

At the hearings before the committee on October 8, 1943, the War Department announced a net reduction of 145,564 civilian employees between June and August 1943. On the other hand, committee figures show that between June and September there has been a reduction of only 139,968 employees in the War Department. The discrepancy between War Department figures and committee figures arises because of the following: (1) The committee figures cover a longer period of time, and (2) War Department totals for June and August do not include all of the employees on the War Department pay rolls for those months to whom compensation was paid for services rendered. Neither the figures of the War Department nor those of the committee include civilian employees outside continental United States; therefore, with present information it is difficult to determine exactly how many employees have been eliminated from the War Department pay rolls.

Congressional action was responsible for reducing Federal employment by 15,000 employees during the period between June and September 1943 through the reduction of appropriations for, or the elimination of, some of the following agencies: Farm Security Administration, Office of War Information, Bituminous Coal Consumers' Counsel, National Resources Planning Board, Board of Legal Examiners, National Youth Administration, Work Projects Administration, and Civilian Conservation Corps.

In recommending the elimination of 300,000 Federal employees the committee believed that there were 3,008,519 paid Federal workers. However, actually there were 3,095,463 Government employees in June. Therefore, the committee should have recommended the elimination of 390,000 Federal employees from the June total.

The committee is encouraged by the fact that 131,058 Federal employees have been eliminated since June, and wishes to commend those 35 departments and agencies which are responsible for the net decrease in Federal employment. However, the trend is indicative rather than conclusive, because many decreases were offset by increases in 30 departments and agencies. Further, it should be pointed out that according to latest available statistics from the Civil Service Commission various departments and agencies have requested that 180,000 additional employees be furnished them.

FEDERAL PERSONNEL INCREASES 260,649 IN THE NUMBER OF PAID EMPLOYEES DURING THE PAST 11 MONTHS

Taking the longer view—that is, from October 1942 to September 1943—the committee found the trend less satisfactory. Federal

employment totaled 2,703,756 in October 1942. By September 1943 the number of employees had risen to 2,964,405, or a net increase of 260,649 in 11 months.

Those establishments employing large numbers of persons almost universally increased employment. All 10 departments except the Interior Department showed increases, some alarming. The Navy Department topped the entire Federal service with 154,593 additions; the War Department was next, with 68,155 increases; and Post Office and Treasury showed substantial gains of 16,723 and 14,842, respectively.

Among the war agencies, the Office of Price Administration increased 19,562, a 55-percent gain. The National War Labor Board increased from 282 to 2,784, a gain of 2,502 or about 890 percent. War Shipping Administration employment increased 167 percent. The Office of Economic Warfare (formerly Board of Economic Warfare), the Office of Scientific Research and Development, the Office of Defense Transportation, all increased substantially.

Of the remaining agencies, attention is directed to the General Accounting Office, the Maritime Commission, the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, the National Housing Agency, and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation—each of which showed substantial gains. Three new agencies were created during that time, the Committee on Fair Employment Practice, the Office of War Mobilization, the Office of the Petroleum Administrator for War, the latter of which already has 1,468 employees.

Substantial reductions were made in the following: Federal Security Agency, Federal Works Agency, Selective Service System, the Civil Service Commission, and Veterans' Administration. During this period the Tennessee Valley Authority eliminated 14,021 employees, most of whom were project workers. The National Youth Administration was ordered liquidated, and by September 1943 had reduced to 1,370 employees.

#### FIFTY-TWO PERCENT OF FEDERAL EMPLOYEES NOT IN DIRECT WAR PRODUCTION

In the committee's last personnel report it was pointed out that 55 percent of Federal civilian employees were not engaged in direct mechanical war production. Six months later, or at the present time, this percentage has been reduced to 52.2 percent.

Following is a list of the agencies engaged in direct mechanical war production with the number of employees so employed:

|   |             |
|---|-------------|
| War Department (except clerical, administrative, and fiscal employees).....             | 800, 224    |
| Navy Department (except clerical, administrative, and fiscal employees).....            | 559, 333    |
| Maritime Commission (except clerical, administrative, and fiscal employees).....        | 1, 271      |
| Tennessee Valley Authority (except clerical, administrative, and fiscal employees)..... | 23, 596     |
| Panama Canal.....   | 34, 326     |
| Bureau of Standards.....  | 2, 465      |
| National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics.....  | 4, 373      |
| Total.....  | 1, 425, 588 |

Thus, today there are 1,425,588 Federal civilian employees, or only 47.3 percent of the civilian employees of the Federal Government, who are chiefly engaged in actual direct mechanical war production. This represents an increase of 76,490 employees over April 1943. It is gratifying to observe that the number of employees not engaged in direct mechanical war production has decreased by 130,734, since April 1943. The trend is en-

couraging, although not to the extent to which the committee desires. There are still more employees in the Federal Government not engaged in direct mechanical war production than there were in the entire Federal service in July 1941, 5 months before Pearl Harbor.

In the next section the committee will point out where reductions in Federal personnel can be effected. It is believed that these reductions should be made almost exclusively in those 1,538,687 Federal employees not engaged in direct mechanical war production.

#### DESIGN FOR REDUCTION

In the committee's report on Federal personnel issued June 18, 1943, the following recommendation was made:

"That a 300,000 reduction in personnel be promptly carried out by all departments and agencies of the Federal Government. The committee believes that much further reduction can be safely effected without interference with the war effort, by a firm determination in all branches of the Government to eliminate all unnecessary personnel. The Director of the Bureau of the Budget can effect much of this reduction through an effective use and execution of the authority and power contained in the Byrd-Langer amendment in the Overtime Pay Act (sec. 11, Public Law 49, 78th Cong., approved May 7, 1943). This power applies to all employees in the classified service comprising over one-half of the total Federal civilian personnel. In the remaining half the proper officials in charge shall take the necessary steps to effect all possible reductions of personnel. It is of course realized that this reduction cannot be made on a uniform basis as some agencies can afford a greater reduction than others."

The committee did not designate where the reductions were to occur, because it believed that those decisions should be made by the various departments and agencies in conjunction with the Bureau of the Budget and the Civil Service Commission. However, at this time the committee desires to point out with particularity where some of the personnel could be eliminated without injury to the war program. This would release vital manpower for war work and increase over-all efficiency.

Liquidation of the following five agencies have either been ordered by the Congress or recommended by the committee, and should result in the reduction of large numbers of Federal personnel:

**Work Projects Administration:** The committee recommended the liquidation of this agency in December 1941. The President ordered its liquidation on December 4, 1942. At the time the committee issued its first personnel report latest statistics, which were for March 1943 showed that the Work Projects Administration had on its pay rolls 2,665 administrative employees. Latest figures which are for September 1943, show that there are now 181 administrative employees, engaged in liquidating the Work Projects Administration.

**National Youth Administration:** In December 1941 and again in May 1943, the committee recommended the abolition of this agency. In the Labor-Federal Security Appropriations Act for 1944 the National Youth Administration was ordered to liquidate. At the time the committee issued its first personnel report latest statistics, which were for March 1943 showed that the National Youth Administration had 10,588 employees. By June the employees of the National Youth Administration numbered 12,604. However, by September the National Youth Administration had 1,370 employees.

**Regional Agricultural Credit Corporation:** On March 11, 1943, the committee recommended the abolition of the Regional Agricultural Credit Corporation. Testimony pre-



sented to the committee on February 19, 1943, indicated that the services of about 8,000 employees were required for this program.

**Farm Security Administration:** In December 1941, the committee recommended the abolition of the Farm Security Administration. At the time the committee issued its first personnel report latest statistics, which were for May 1943, showed that the Farm Security Administration had 17,090 employees, excluding committeemen. Because of a reduction in its appropriation for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1943, the Farm Security Administration has eliminated 5,029 employees.

**Civilian Conservation Corps:** In December 1941 the committee recommended the abolition of the Civilian Conservation Corps. The Labor-Federal Security Appropriations Act of 1943 provided for the liquidation of this agency. At the time the committee issued its first personnel report latest statistics, which were for March 1943, showed that the Civilian Conservation Corps had 618 employees. Latest information shows that the Civilian Conservation Corps had five employees on its pay roll in September 1943.

Thus, since the committee's first personnel report 33,961 employees should have been eliminated from the Federal pay rolls through the liquidation of the above agencies. Actually, only 17,344 of these employees have been eliminated.

In considering appropriations for the fiscal year 1944 the activities of the following agencies were either curtailed or entirely eliminated by the Congress: Bituminous Coal Consumers' Counsel, National Resources Planning Board, Board of Legal Examiners, and the Domestic Branch of the Office of War Information. This congressional action should have further reduced the number of Federal personnel by about 2,000 employees.

**War and Navy Departments:** In its first personnel report the committee furnished statistics which showed the number of civilian personnel in the War and Navy Departments in the clerical, administrative, and fiscal service (hereinafter referred to as the clerical category). These figures show that in the Navy Department there is 1 civilian employee in this category for every 5 other civilian employees (mechanical, professional, etc., engaged in direct mechanical war production). However, in the War Department the ratio between civilian employees in the clerical category and those civilian employees in other categories is 1 to 2. The committee believes that from the standpoint of sound personnel management the differences between the War and Navy Department in this respect are too great. There are not sufficient extenuating circumstances to warrant the War Department's having one-third of its civilian employees in the clerical category. The committee wishes to point out that in this discussion military and naval personnel doing this type of clerical, administrative, and fiscal work have not been included. Making due allowances for the relative sizes of the two branches of the armed forces, and considering the large number of military personnel assigned to clerical, administrative, and fiscal duties, it is not unreasonable to require the War Department to decrease the ratio of civilian clerical employees to those civilian employees actually directly engaged in war work, so that there is only one clerical civilian employee for every other three civilian employees engaged in direct mechanical war production. This means that the War Department should reduce the number of its civilian employees in the clerical category from 457,764 to 307,764, or a reduction of 150,000 employees.

Up to this point in this report the committee has pointed out with particularity how Federal civilian personnel should have been reduced by 185,961 employees since the

date of the first personnel report. At most, these are only minimum reductions. These reductions in personnel have been accomplished in part, but not as completely and promptly as desired by the committee.

The attention of the committee has been directed repeatedly to examples of waste in the utilization of existing personnel in almost every agency of the Federal Government. Reckless and excessive hiring of personnel predicated upon the assumption that sometime in the future work would be provided is the rule rather than the exception.

Overestimation of personnel for existing work needs is still another miscalculation made by Government agencies. There are a few—very few—departments and agencies which have tried to solve their personnel problems by thoroughly investigating their personnel needs to determine if improved methods, reduction of red tape, and eliminating idleness, duplication, and overlapping functions would not reduce the need for personnel. The majority of the agencies recruit inexperienced employees from outside the Federal service to add to the confusion caused by the lack of a systematized and intelligent procedure which is based on fundamental businesslike and economical considerations. If the departments and agencies of the Government had attacked and will now attack the problem of useless and excessive personnel in the manner described, over-all "horizontal" reductions in all of the agencies could have been and can now be effected which will result in the elimination of at least 100,000 to 200,000 more Government employees.

Further reductions might be made were the duplicating activities among the various Federal establishments removed. For example, the committee has long advocated a complete unification of all lending activities of the Department of Agriculture, for there is no logical reason why these duplicating activities should not be eliminated at a tremendous saving in personnel and Federal funds.

There are 7 agencies aside from the Department of Labor dealing with labor problems. If the functions of the Office of Defense Transportation were placed under the Interstate Commerce Commission, an estimated saving of \$2,000,000 and thousands of man-hours would be effected annually. The Federal Trade Commission and the Office of Price Administration are in many respects so closely related as to benefit by a single identity. The latest figures on the number of Federal agencies engaged in research work show that no fewer than 134 agencies and bureaus are spending money for this purpose. There are 22 agencies dealing with matters affecting the fishing industry.

An increase of 16,723 Post Office Department employees over the past year to some extent has resulted from increased amounts of nonessential penalty mail originating from the departments and agencies. Better control by the departments and agencies over their penalty mailing privileges would not only reduce Federal expenditures per se, but would result in the elimination of several thousands of Government employees engaged in duties, relating to the preparation and distribution of such unnecessary material.

Functions which formerly would have been placed under the 10 departments of the Federal Government are delegated to a complex multitude of interlocking, yet independent agencies, many of which have their own personnel, including administrative sections, information sections, budgetary divisions, procurement sections, records sections, and statistics sections thereby duplicating one another's functions at every turn.

The national emergency has undoubtedly encouraged this trend. But, on the other hand, there is every reason to fear that many

of these so-called emergency agencies will attempt to perpetuate themselves after the war. Were this not the case consolidation of duplicating agencies should have already begun.

In its first personnel report the committee pointed out the manner in which personnel recruiting is duplicated. One of the principal functions of the Civil Service Commission is to investigate and to hire employees for the various Federal establishments. This it does at a cost of \$57.95 per employee hired. Yet every department and agency has its own personnel officers and administrators, investigators, and experts, clerks and stenographers, who investigate, classify, and recruit employees—the very work which the Civil Service Commission is supposed to be performing.

In this portion of the report the committee has endeavored to outline specifically methods by which total Federal personnel may be reduced by at least 300,000 employees, using total personnel figures of September 1943 as a base.

These methods are:

1. Reductions in the number of personnel resulting from the liquidation of certain agencies.
2. Reduction in the number of employees in the War Department engaged in clerical duties.
3. Reduction in the number of employees in nonwar agencies.
4. Over-all reductions in personnel throughout the Federal service resulting from more efficient personnel management.

In view of the fact that Federal employment has decreased by 131,058 employees since the first personnel report, the committee observes that its recommendations have not been completely followed, and it is now forced to recommend a reduction of at least 300,000 civilian employees from the total number of employees who are on the Federal pay rolls at this time. Such a reduction would release manpower for vital war work and would also save the taxpayers about \$1,000,000,000 annually.

#### WAR AND NAVY DEPARTMENT PERSONNEL REDUCTIONS

It has been brought to the attention of the committee that the War and Navy Departments are effecting reductions in personnel by replacing civilian employees who have been and ordinarily would be employed in certain positions by young male enlisted and commissioned personnel who are physically fit for active combat service. This is not a solution to the problem of excessive and unutilized personnel, and should be stopped immediately. Between now and the time the committee issues its next personnel report this practice will be fully investigated and all the facts will be reported to the Congress and the Nation.

The committee has requested of the War and Navy Departments the number of male commissioned and enlisted personnel below the rank of lieutenant colonel or commander between the ages of 18 and 35 years and physically fit for active combat service who are in the United States occupying positions of a clerical, administrative, fiscal, or custodial nature not directly connected with the activities of task forces, combat units, or training units.

Evidence adduced at the hearings on October 8, 1943, at which time the War Department appeared before the committee, showed that a portion of the reduction in personnel was attributable to a transfer of the management and operations of certain ordnance plants and depots, previously operated by the War Department, to private industry. This resulted in a transfer of 8,950 War Department civilian employees to the pay rolls of contractors. Other similar agreements and contracts have been entered into by the War

Department, and at the present time the War Department is assembling this information for the use of the committee so that it may be appraised of the extent to which this practice is used to show over-all reductions in civilian personnel. Since June 1943 the War Department reduced more than twice as many employees engaged in mechanical war production, as it did those engaged in clerical, administrative, and fiscal duties. The committee has never taken the position that the War Department should reduce the number of its employees engaged in actual direct mechanical war production, and it is well aware of the fact that any reduction in the number of these employees should be accompanied by a corresponding greater reduction in the number of War Department clerical, administrative, and fiscal employees.

#### FEDERAL MANPOWER-UTILIZATION PROGRAM

In the broad sense the success of a Federal manpower-utilization program is dependent first upon the reduction in personnel in those agencies where curtailment of activities is possible; and, second, in the transfer of Federal employees between agencies as opposed to the recruitment of employees from outside the Federal service. Also, a successful manpower-utilization program will result in the savings of millions of dollars, because it will eliminate idleness and insure the maximum utilization of each employee's working time and highest skills.

In maintaining that a cut of 300,000 employees from Federal rolls would be beneficial from the standpoint of efficiency and economy, the committee previously believed that Federal employment would be reduced through the effective execution by the departments and agencies of the First Overtime Pay Act. This has not been done. While it is true that the majority of the departments and agencies have reduced, or at least stabilized, their personnel, many have not. Moreover, the committee is unable to determine the success of the labor-utilization program in connection with the First Overtime Pay Act since the Civil Service Commission has informed the committee of the high expense involved in ascertaining the number of employees actually reduced who could have been utilized in positions filled by new employees.

Obviously it is more satisfactory to transfer employees than to recruit new ones. In addition to aiding morale and releasing idle employees from overstaffed departments and agencies, such a program is far more economical than recruiting new ones. Today the Government is paying \$57.95 to place each needless new employee on the Federal pay roll. Without computing the cost of their training or their salaries, since January 1942, this expense has amounted to over \$17,000,000, and is rapidly rising. Yet, today, for every employee who has been transferred through the operation of the manpower utilization program there are at least two surplus employees on the Federal pay roll who are either idle or not working more than 50 percent of the day, or whose skills are not completely utilized.

The power to institute a Federal manpower-utilization program has been given the Civil Service Commission by the all-embracing authority of War Manpower Commission Directive No. 10, several Executive orders, and the overtime-pay laws. The Chairman of the War Manpower Commission indicated this when he advised the committee as follows:

"In the field of maximum utilization of manpower in the Federal service, I rely upon the United States Civil Service Commission."

Only recently, in fact a year after the issuance of War Manpower Commission Directive No. 10, and subsequent to the committee's first personnel report, has the Com-

mission taken any affirmative action whatever to institute a few labor utilization surveys. Officials of the Civil Service Commission in justifying the inactivity of the Commission regarding this Federal manpower-utilization program, have stated that they must proceed cautiously for fear of offending departments and agencies which might then refuse to cooperate entirely in manpower-utilization surveys. The committee believes that cooperation from departments and agencies should be mandatory when not given voluntarily, and that the Commission should use all the authority at its command to reduce waste of manpower and Federal funds.

For the most part, the Commission has been content to adopt a negative attitude by initiating inquiries and making decisions only when approached by a courageous employee who desired to be of more service. Such an anomalous situation is the more reprehensible when War Manpower Commission officials state that their own manpower-utilization surveys receive "very high cooperation" from private industry at the very time that the Civil Service Commission, charged by the War Manpower Commission with the responsibility of administering the Federal personnel-utilization program, is found lacking the cooperation of and refusing to exercise authority over the various Federal departments and agencies.

The American people at this time, more than ever before, have a right to expect that their Government will not waste manpower, and that every measure will be adopted to eliminate superfluous personnel. Therefore, the committee believes that the Civil Service Commission should, in conjunction with the Bureau of the Budget, immediately begin manpower-utilization surveys, whether connected with a request for additional personnel or not, throughout the entire Government service and by February 1, 1944, report their findings to the President and the Congress. The committee calls upon every department and agency of the Government and all Federal employees to extend fullest cooperation.

#### RATE OF PROMOTIONS

The committee has continued its study of promotion policies in the Federal Government. Within-grade promotions are controlled now by the Mead-Ramspeck Act, Public Law 200, Seventy-seventh Congress, but between-grade promotions are not controlled by statute. Legally there can be no grade promotion unless a vacancy exists to which an employee may be promoted. The operating officials and personnel officers of the Government and the Civil Service Commission are responsible for filling these vacancies in accordance with good personnel practices. However, the committee's investigations reveal that promotion policies in certain agencies are flagrant violations of good personnel-management principles, and are wasting annually hundreds of thousands of dollars of Federal funds.

In a study embracing the 6-month period between December 1, 1942, and May 30, 1943, it was established that of 580,822 classified and per annum employees in the Government, 120,227 received full-grade promotions. This represents a 20.7 percent promotion rate over a 6-month period. (See Appendix II.)

This percentage of pay raises compares favorably to that of the long-standing departments of the Government. These departments, excluding the War and Navy Departments, have promoted 47,768 of 251,240 employees in the past 6 months. This represents a promotion rate of 19 percent in that period:

TABLE III.—Between-grade promotion rate in departments

| Department             | Promotions | Total classified and per annum | Percent |
|------------------------|------------|--------------------------------|---------|
| Agriculture Department | 10,540     | 64,751                         | 16      |
| Commerce Department    | 5,576      | 22,547                         | 25      |
| Interior Department    | 2,561      | 25,598                         | 10      |
| Justice Department     | 6,450      | 30,650                         | 21      |
| Labor Department       | 1,327      | 6,078                          | 22      |
| Post Office Department | 1,235      | 16,955                         | 7       |
| State Department       | 2,361      | 8,043                          | 29      |
| Treasury Department    | 17,718     | 76,618                         | 23      |
| Total                  | 47,768     | 251,240                        | 19      |

<sup>1</sup> Average.

One might assume that if the average promotion rate for the entire classified and per annum services was 20.7 percent and that the rate for the 8 departments was 19 percent such might be expected to be true of the entire classified service. This, however, is not the case. Four agencies report grade promotions of over 40 percent of their employees in 6 months. Nine other agencies report grade promotions of between 30 and 40 percent. The list follows:

TABLE IV.—Agencies with high between-grade promotion rates

| Agency   | Promotions | Total classified and per annum employees | Percent |
|--|------------|--|---------|
| Central Administrative Services, Office for Emergency Management | 2,672      | 5,659                                    | 47      |
| Office of Strategic Services                                     | 632        | 1,477                                    | 43      |
| Liaison Office, Office for Emergency Management                  | 5          | 12                                       | 42      |
| Railroad Retirement Board  | 686        | 1,632                                    | 42      |
| National Labor Relations Board                                   | 320        | 816                                      | 39      |
| Office of Lend-Lease Administration                              | 240        | 658                                      | 36      |
| National Capital Park and Planning Commission                    | 6          | 18                                       | 33      |
| Office of Scientific Research and Development                    | 177        | 545                                      | 32      |
| Government Printing Office                                       | 464        | 1,446                                    | 32      |
| Administrative Office of United States Courts                    | 32         | 99                                       | 32      |
| National War Labor Board   | 507        | 1,640                                    | 31      |
| Office of War Information  | 1,111      | 3,603                                    | 31      |
| Office of Censorship   | 3,650      | 12,061                                   | 30      |
| National Youth Administration                                    | 3,157      | 10,602                                   | 29      |
| War Production Board   | 5,767      | 20,260                                   | 28      |
| War Manpower Commission  | 995        | 3,675                                    | 27      |
| Office of Civilian Defense                                       | 363        | 1,316                                    | 27      |
| Selective Service System   | 1,109      | 4,250                                    | 26      |

The use of these percentages is based on the assumption that there are no "repeaters" counted. That is to say, a 20 percent promotion rate would indicate a complete agency-wide grade promotion in 2½ years, a 33 percent rate would indicate a complete agency-wide promotion in 1½ years. From available statistics the committee knows, however, that this frequently is not the case. Some employees are jumped four or more grades over a 2-year period. Others, as well or better qualified, wait many years for a single grade promotion. Obviously, such a policy is



detrimental to the morale of the employees, hinders the effective prosecution of the war, and encourages a high rate of turn-over in personnel.

The committee finds from this and previous studies that there is no uniform intergrade promotion policy in the classified service. It believes that such a policy would prove highly beneficial to the morale of the employees in the classified service and would prove economical, in view of the inordinately high promotion rate in many agencies.

The committee further finds that the Civil Service Commission, which is ultimately responsible for approving these promotions within the departmental service, has not exercised sufficient care either in placing employees, in restricting promotions in certain agencies or in educating the operating officials of all departments and agencies into administering a uniform promotion policy, and believes that the Civil Service Commission should do so in the future.

Until very recently in order to expedite personnel actions the Civil Service Commission had in effect delegated its authority over promotions and reassignments to the various departments and agencies by operation of departmental Circular No. 257, revision No. 2, dated April 13, 1943. The standards prescribing length of Federal service required of an employee before promotion were very liberal. A department or agency, without prior approval of the Commission, could promote its employees on the following bases: At least 30 days' service for a promotion of less than \$300 per annum, at least 6 months' service for a promotion of between \$300 and \$599 per annum, and at least 1 year of service for a promotion of \$600 or more. However, the Civil Service Commission's order stated that the standards prescribing length of service and qualifications could be waived by the departments and agencies when in the opinion of the operating officials and personnel officers such action was warranted.

From the committee's investigations and analyses it is believed that a promotion rate above \$600 per annum for any Federal employee in the same 12 months is extravagant and conducive to poor morale among the rest of the employees. Therefore, the committee believed that no exceptions to the above standards should have been allowed without complete investigations by the Civil Service Commission, and that decisions in connection therewith should have been made after all other promotion actions had been taken by the Commission.

The committee notes with approval that recently the Civil Service Commission has taken certain remedial steps to review promotion requests, and now requires that the Commission make a prior determination in each case. This is a step in the right direction. However, at the same time, the committee observes that the length-of-service and qualifications standards for promotion have been relaxed. The committee opposes such a policy, and believes that the standards pertaining to length of service laid down in the Commission's order of April 13, 1943 (see above), are sufficiently liberal, and that any further relaxation of these standards encourages waste.

#### NEW PERSONNEL REPORTING SYSTEM TO SAVE OVER \$10,000,000

Mention was made in the first personnel report of the necessity of completely overhauling the present antiquated personnel reporting system. Having initiated the procedure for the new reporting system, the committee intends to continue its insistence that such a logical policy be instituted. It believes that the new system, if vigorously carried out by those in position to make it effective, will be of inestimable value in placing personnel and fiscal statistics of the Federal

Government on a sound and concise basis for the first time in history. Advantages are obvious. It is estimated that the savings involved will amount to over \$10,000,000 a year. In addition many fewer employees will be needed to perform personnel work. Consequently it is hoped that the new system will not be opposed on the grounds that it may involve partial loss of authority over groups of employees no longer needed in personnel statistics.

The committee is pleased to state that according to latest assurances from the Civil Service Commission and the Bureau of the Budget, the new system as advocated by the committee is being evolved and may be in actual operation by the beginning of 1944.

The necessity for a new personnel-reporting system is not difficult to see. Many representatives of the various departments have concurred in the belief that the present system is of little practical value. Representatives of the Civil Service Commission, the Bureau of the Budget, the War Manpower Commission, the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and Members of Congress, needing personnel information, have been forced to make their own investigations. Obviously the present report does not meet the required need.

In attempting to secure definite information on personnel, the committee found no uniform classification system is at present in use in the Federal Government, approximately half of the employees being ungraded, i. e., unclassified. The committee further learned that it was impossible to secure information on employment on a job-title basis, there being no occupational breakdown of employees in the Federal Government. In other words, no one knew how many typists, how many engineers, how many economists, etc., were employed by the Federal Government.

Furthermore, the present system provides no adaptable method of securing information as to where Federal employees are located. When such information is desired manual effort, involving great expense, is the only recourse. The committee believes that such information would be invaluable at the present time of manpower shortage, and envisions a future of Federal civilian employment demobilization when such need will be imperative.

Other difficulties with the present system are evident. The committee found that it does not require an adequate break-down of personnel in the departments and agencies by which study may be made of trends within large employee groups. Again in some cases figures given are only estimates within 5 or 10 percent. In one agency the committee was told that the number of employees is arrived at by dividing pay-roll figures by an average wage. Field offices are dilatory or find it impossible to give figures as of dates requested. Sometimes there is a lag of 6 months before reports from continental United States are accumulated. Some offices have no permanent records at all but can give figures only as of today.

Through this new system, information regarding such personnel statistics as sex, age, occupations, geographic distribution, classification, grade, pay, service record, retirement record—all these will be readily available. As indicated, the proposed system envisages a complete roster of all Federal personnel based on actual occupational classifications in addition to such other information as may be deemed necessary.

By use of a card punch tabulation by a central servicing agency, a complete classification system may be set up based upon the schematic outline formulated by the Civil Service Commission. In this way a truly adequate break-down of jobs will be secured. Although this classification will include thousands of job designations, the tabulating machinery to do this is already in use in

Government agencies. Not only will information become available as to present classified employees, but description of industrial positions—skilled and unskilled—will be made available.

The new personnel reporting system must, as far as is humanly possible, meet the present needs and such future needs as may be foreseen for all branches of the Federal Government. Such a report, required monthly by the Civil Service Commission, should contain all personnel information necessary to the various branches of the Government. The agencies themselves should be made aware of this and should be authorized and required to expedite issuance of such reports at stated intervals. The savings in curtailment of duplication of effort offset any expense incurred, any strain upon manpower or time, and any initial confusion always present when a new system is inaugurated.

#### PERSONNEL REPORTS TO THE COMMITTEE

Until such time as this system becomes effective each department and agency of the Federal Government should make every effort to comply with the request of the Joint Committee on Reduction of Nonessential Federal Expenditures to submit monthly personnel and pay-roll reports by the 6th of each succeeding month. Some fail to do this.

Although the committee recognizes difficulties in some instances in securing information from distant field offices, it believes that, after 8 months of operation, the reporting machinery for each Federal establishment should be so adjusted as to meet this demand on time. The committee, therefore, expects each Government establishment to cooperate in securing this information and calls attention to title 6 of the Revenue Act of 1941, Seventy-seventh Congress, which empowers the committee to expect such cooperation.

#### EFFECT OF OVERTIME PAY LAWS

(Public Law 821, 77th Cong., and Public Law 49, 78th Cong.)

Information was furnished the committee by the Civil Service Commission and the Bureau of the Budget in the form of progress reports which reflect the true effect of the orders by the Bureau of the Budget in its attempt to reduce Federal civilian personnel, in connection with the first overtime pay law which extended from December 1, 1942, to April 30, 1943. These statistics reveal that the Bureau of the Budget failed to reduce the number of personnel in all departments and agencies who were subject to the provisions of the First Overtime Pay Act.

The committee believes that in the execution of the Second Overtime Pay Act the Bureau of the Budget should place limitations upon all civilian personnel subject to the provisions of the Second Overtime Pay Act in every department and agency.

The committee will more fully discuss the effects of the First and Second Overtime Pay Acts in a future report devoted entirely to that subject.

#### CONCLUSIONS

1. In June 1943, when the committee issued its first personnel report there were 3,095,463 paid Federal civilian employees, or approximately 90,000 more employees than in April, which was the latest month for which figures were then available. Today, the latest figure, which is for September, shows that there are 2,964,405 paid Federal civilian employees, of which 52.2 percent are not engaged in direct mechanical war production. Therefore, the committee finds that some progress has been made in reducing Federal employment, but not to the extent to which the committee finds is possible. Had it not been for a reduction of 139,968 employees in the War Department between June and September there would have been a net increase in the entire Federal service during that period of 8,910



employees. Further, the fact that the departments and agencies have requested that 180,000 additional employees be furnished them by the Civil Service Commission shows that not all the departments and agencies are attempting to eliminate personnel.

2. Statistics furnished the committee by the Civil Service Commission relative to reduction in the number of Federal personnel which have been effected by the Bureau of the Budget under authority contained in the Byrd-Langer amendment to the First Overtime Pay Act show that while one-fourth of Federal employment was being reduced by 16,535, the other three-fourths of the Government service was being increased by 211,476, resulting in a net increase of 194,941 employees.

3. The committee observes that the Bureau of the Budget did not reduce the number of personnel in many agencies to whose employees the First Overtime Pay Act applied, and also that in those departments and agencies where limitations were placed upon the number of personnel, certain categories of employees subject to the act were excluded.

4. The committee finds that the Government's failure to produce a completely effective manpower utilization and war-transfer program, which is administered by the Civil Service Commission, has resulted from the failure of the departments and agencies to coordinate properly their personnel activities. It costs, on the average, at least \$57.95 to recruit, place, classify, and investigate a new Federal employee. This is wasted money when it is seen that thousands of new employees are being constantly recruited to fill positions which could be filled by employees already on the pay roll.

5. Statistics compiled by the committee show that in some agencies there is an unreasonably high between-grade promotion rate. During a 6-month period from December 1942 to May 1943, it was found that in the entire classified service 20.7 percent of the employees received at least one full grade promotion. Eight old line departments showed a similar rate of grade promotions—19.0 percent. However, 4 agencies show a grade-promotion rate above 40 percent, and 13 at or above 30 percent. These studies, plus those in the committee's first personnel report, show that many employees in the upper salary ranges are jumped four or more grades in a 2-year period or less, while other employees, as well qualified, wait many years for a single grade promotion.

6. The committee finds that there is a lack of coordination and cooperation between the various departments and agencies in supplying each other with information relative to new methods adopted to save manpower and Federal funds.

7. The committee finds that one of the reasons why the Civil Service Commission has been unable to execute a more effective manpower utilization program in the Federal Government is that the Commission is proceeding hesitantly since it believes a more authoritative approach would result in a hostile and noncooperative attitude on the part of the departments and agencies.

8. The committee finds that preliminary steps have been taken to institute a more economical and efficient Federal personnel reporting system.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The committee still recommends that a reduction of at least 300,000 paid Federal employees be promptly carried out by the departments and agencies of the Federal Government, and that the following methods be used to effect these personnel reductions:

(a) Immediate elimination of all personnel in those agencies or parts of agencies which

have been ordered to liquidate as soon as possible.

(b) A reduction of at least 150,000 employees in the clerical category (clerical, administrative, and fiscal service) now employed by the War Department.

(c) A drastic curtailment in the number of employees in those agencies or parts of agencies engaged in nonwar, duplicating, and overlapping activities.

(d) Over-all reductions in personnel of from 100,000 to 200,000 paid employees throughout the entire Federal service, resulting from more efficient personnel management.

When the committee issued its first personnel report in June it recommended a reduction of 300,000 employees, believing that there were 3,008,519 Federal civilian employees. Later figures showed that there were actually 3,095,463 Federal employees that month. Therefore the recommendation should have been a reduction of at least 390,000 employees. Since June, the all-time peak month for Federal employment, and the month in which the first personnel report was issued, there has been a reduction of 131,058 Federal employees.

The committee is aware that in bringing these wasteful and extravagant personnel practices to the attention of the Congress and the Nation there has resulted a corresponding reaction in the executive branch of the Government. This reaction has taken the form of a slower rate of recruiting new employees, of an actual reduction of 131,058 in the number of Federal personnel.

2. Since the execution of the Byrd-Langer amendment in the First Overtime Pay Act did not result in reducing over-all Federal employment, the committee recommends that the Bureau of the Budget intensify its efforts to effect major reductions in Federal personnel by use of the authority contained in the Byrd-Langer amendment to the Second Overtime Pay Act, which is in addition to the Bureau's power to establish reserves in any department or agency where funds already appropriated by Congress are not needed.

3. The committee recommends that in executing the Second Overtime Pay Act the Bureau of the Budget place definite limitations upon the number of personnel which may be employed in all departments and agencies to whose employees overtime compensation is provided, and that no category of employees be excepted unless excluded from the provisions of the act.

4. The committee recommends that the Civil Service Commission in executing its obligations under the Second Overtime Pay Act make certain that not a single new employee is recruited for a position which could be filled by an employee who is being released.

5. The committee recommends that a more uniform, equitable, and economical between-grade promotion policy be instituted immediately in all the departments and agencies, and that the Civil Service Commission in the future refuse to allow any exceptions to the standards prescribed by it in Departmental Circular No. 257, revision No. 2, dated April 13, 1943.

6. The committee recommends that all new methods and procedures, developed by any department or agency to save manpower and Federal funds, be transmitted to the Bureau of the Budget or to the Civil Service Commission for dissemination, where applicable, throughout the entire Federal Government.

7. The committee recommends that the Civil Service Commission, in conjunction with the Bureau of the Budget, immediately proceed to institute manpower utilization surveys throughout the entire Federal Government with a view toward reducing and more fully utilizing personnel in all departments and agencies in keeping with the purpose of

War Manpower Commission Directive No. 10, and by February 1, 1944, report their findings to the President and to the Congress. To avoid the necessity of adding employees for these investigations, it is recommended that the Investigations Division of the Civil Service Commission be used for this purpose.

8. The committee recommends that measures be adopted to install the new Federal personnel reporting system so that it will be in full operation by January 1944.

(Due to the illness of Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr., he was unable to join in the presentation of this report, therefore it does not necessarily represent his views.)

NOVEMBER 18, 1943.

HON. HARRY F. BYRD,  
Chairman, Joint Committee on Reduction  
of Nonessential Federal Expenditures,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Receipt is acknowledged of your letter of November 12, in which you request my comments, suggestions, and approval of an additional report on Federal personnel.

As I stated in my letter of June 12, in connection with the committee's first report, I am in accord with the committee's views that the tremendous expansion in Federal personnel is a cause of serious concern, but it is my belief that it is not an opportune time to undertake drastic and far-reaching changes in Government personnel. While there may be some organizations which could make substantial reductions at this time, such reductions should only be made after a careful study rather than in an arbitrary manner.

I do not agree with the general implications in the report that the Civil Service Commission and the Bureau of the Budget have failed to exercise properly their assigned functions or that they are primarily responsible for many of the unfavorable personnel conditions mentioned in the report.

I am in sympathy with the committee's objectives, and except for the reservations made above, join in the committee's report.

Very truly yours,

H. MORGENTHAU, Jr.,  
Secretary of the Treasury.

BUREAU OF THE BUDGET,  
Washington, D. C., November 20, 1943.

HON. HARRY F. BYRD,  
Chairman, Joint Committee on Reduction  
of Nonessential Federal Expenditures,  
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I cannot agree with the basic philosophy of the proposed report on Federal personnel. Reduction of personnel on the basis of an arbitrary quota would necessarily impair services which the Congress, through legislation and appropriations, has declared essential.

The staffing of Government agencies must be related to the specific functions and work load of each agency as established by law or imposed by the exigencies of world-wide war. Personnel needs can be determined only by systematic investigation on the basis of comprehensive and detailed knowledge of each operation and establishment. The Bureau of the Budget endeavors constantly to reduce personnel by suggesting improvements in organization and procedure.

The manpower utilization surveys which you suggest would constitute a fruitful intensification of our present efforts; this is one of the possibilities I had in mind in my recent discussions with the appropriations committees.

Sincerely yours,

HAROLD D. SMITH,  
Director.



APPENDIX I.—Between-grade promotions in executive agencies for 6-month period, December 1942 to June 1943, for classified and per annum employees

| Department   | Jan. 1, 1943       | Feb. 1, 1943       | Mar. 1, 1943       | Apr. 1, 1943       | May 1, 1943        | June 1, 1943       | Total   | Classified and per annum employment | Percent of total employment promoted |
|--|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|---------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Agriculture.....   | <sup>1</sup> 1,866 | <sup>1</sup> 1,735 | <sup>1</sup> 1,735 | <sup>1</sup> 1,735 | <sup>1</sup> 1,735 | <sup>1</sup> 1,734 | 10,540  | 64,751                              | 16                                   |
| Commerce.....  | 866                | 964                | 881                | 909                | 1,000              | 956                | 5,576   | 22,547                              | 25                                   |
| Interior.....  | <sup>2</sup> 706   | 313                | 379                | 419                | 361                | 383                | 2,561   | 25,598                              | 10                                   |
| Justice.....   | 1,340              | 1,061              | 1,013              | 1,144              | 1,019              | 874                | 6,450   | 30,650                              | 21                                   |
| Labor.....   | 117                | 108                | 85                 | 564                | 202                | 251                | 1,327   | 6,078                               | 22                                   |
| Navy.....  |                    |                    |                    |                    |                    |                    |         |                                     |                                      |
| Post Office.....   | 342                | 248                | 271                | 165                | 104                | 105                | 1,235   | 16,955                              | 7                                    |
| State.....   | 256                | 232                | 144                | 550                | 679                | 500                | 2,361   | 8,043                               | 29                                   |
| Treasury.....  | 5,503              | 1,729              | 2,955              | 5,146              | 1,298              | 1,087              | 17,718  | 76,618                              | 23                                   |
| War.....   |                    |                    |                    |                    |                    |                    |         |                                     |                                      |
| Board of Economic Warfare.....                           | <sup>1</sup> 166   | 110                | 209                | 87                 | 108                | 99                 | 779     | 3,240                               | 24                                   |
| Bureau of the Budget.....                                | 16                 | 5                  | 27                 | 5                  | 9                  | 11                 | 73      | 546                                 | 13                                   |
| Office of Censorship.....                                | 855                | 585                | 695                | 660                | 402                | 444                | 3,650   | 12,061                              | 30                                   |
| Office of Price Administration.....                      | 2,277              | 1,872              | 1,895              | 1,528              | 1,167              | 1,941              | 10,680  | 52,680                              | 20                                   |
| Office of Strategic Services.....                        | 169                | 52                 | 66                 | 115                | 110                | 120                | 632     | 1,477                               | 43                                   |
| Selective Service System.....                            | 143                | 304                | 149                | 168                | 223                | 122                | 1,109   | 4,250                               | 26                                   |
| War Shipping Administration.....                         | 135                | 152                | 106                | 79                 | 99                 | 57                 | 628     | 2,902                               | 22                                   |
| National Resources Planning Board.....                   | 12                 | 19                 | 9                  | 5                  | 8                  | 6                  | 59      | 280                                 | 21                                   |
| Alien Property Custodian.....                            | 25                 | 27                 | 20                 | 53                 | 35                 | 49                 | 209     | 1,080                               | 19                                   |
| Central Administrative Services.....                     | 555                | 523                | 378                | 435                | 411                | 370                | 2,672   | 5,659                               | 47                                   |
| Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs..... | 69                 | 50                 | 42                 | 26                 | 43                 | 57                 | 287     | 1,333                               | 21                                   |
| Economic Stabilization Board.....                        | 0                  | 0                  | 0                  | 0                  | 0                  | 1                  | 1       | 6                                   | 17                                   |
| Lend-Lease Administration.....                           | 75                 | 18                 | 52                 | 24                 | 27                 | 34                 | 240     | 658                                 | 36                                   |
| Liaison Office for Office for Emergency Management.....  | 2                  | 0                  | 0                  | 0                  | 0                  | 3                  | 5       | 12                                  | 42                                   |
| Office of Civilian Defense.....                          | 125                | 70                 | 39                 | 73                 | 28                 | 28                 | 263     | 1,316                               | 27                                   |
| Office of Defense Transportation.....                    | 118                | 117                | 124                | 104                | 112                | 80                 | 655     | 4,246                               | 15                                   |
| Office of Scientific Research and Development.....       | 32                 | 31                 | 32                 | 34                 | 31                 | 17                 | 177     | 545                                 | 32                                   |
| Office of War Information.....                           | 296                | 252                | 107                | 197                | 97                 | 162                | 1,111   | 3,603                               | 31                                   |
| National War Labor Board.....                            | 107                | 128                | 66                 | 89                 | 65                 | 52                 | 507     | 1,640                               | 31                                   |
| War Manpower Commission.....                             | 197                | 130                | 115                | 208                | 109                | 126                | 995     | 3,675                               | 27                                   |
| War Production Board.....                                | 1,799              | 1,497              | 1,189              | 533                | 277                | 467                | 5,767   | 20,260                              | 28                                   |
| War Relocation Authority.....                            | 19                 | 26                 | 38                 | 11                 | 72                 | 38                 | 204     | 1,697                               | 12                                   |
| National Youth Administration.....                       | 761                | 530                | 406                | 410                | 534                | 516                | 3,157   | 10,602                              | 20                                   |
| U. S. Employment Service.....                            | 794                | 1,405              | 481                | 472                | 851                | 281                | 4,774   | 22,025                              | 21                                   |
| National Capital Housing Authority.....                  | 12                 | 8                  | 6                  | 9                  | 5                  | 10                 | 60      | 246                                 | 20                                   |
| American Battle Monuments Commission.....                | 0                  | 0                  | 0                  | 0                  | 0                  | 0                  | 0       | 4                                   | 0                                    |
| Bituminous Coal Consumers' Counsel.....                  | 1                  | 3                  | 0                  | 0                  | 2                  | 8                  | 8       | 35                                  | 23                                   |
| Civil Aeronautics Board.....                             | 31                 | 2                  | 9                  | 16                 | 23                 | 6                  | 87      | 305                                 | 28                                   |
| Commission of Fine Arts.....                             | 0                  | 0                  | 0                  | 0                  | 0                  | 0                  | 0       | 2                                   | 0                                    |
| Board of Investigation and Research.....                 | 7                  | 5                  | 2                  | 13                 | 0                  | 1                  | 28      | 169                                 | 17                                   |
| Civil Service Commission.....                            | 29                 | 452                | 133                | 609                | 200                | 175                | 1,718   | 6,356                               | 27                                   |
| Employees Compensation Commission.....                   | 16                 | 20                 | 12                 | 6                  | 1                  | 9                  | 64      | 524                                 | 12                                   |
| Federal Communications Commission.....                   | 109                | 64                 | 118                | 115                | 47                 | 71                 | 524     | 2,151                               | 24                                   |
| Federal Deposit Insurance Commission.....                | 36                 | 35                 | 11                 | 36                 | 6                  | 16                 | 140     | 1,168                               | 12                                   |
| Federal Power Commission.....                            | 29                 | 43                 | 15                 | 25                 | 29                 | 17                 | 158     | 680                                 | 23                                   |
| Federal Security Agency.....                             | 1,114              | 990                | 972                | 757                | 688                | 536                | 5,057   | 29,734                              | 17                                   |
| Federal Trade Commission.....                            | 17                 | 11                 | 14                 | 4                  | 12                 | 8                  | 66      | 488                                 | 14                                   |
| Federal Works Agency.....                                | 456                | 341                | 298                | 245                | 231                | 574                | 2,145   | 20,000                              | 11                                   |
| General Accounting Office.....                           | 396                | 549                | 321                | 352                | 296                | 246                | 2,160   | 8,534                               | 25                                   |
| Government Printing Office.....                          | 95                 | 61                 | 74                 | 83                 | 74                 | 77                 | 464     | 1,446                               | 32                                   |
| Interstate Commerce Commission.....                      | 39                 | 32                 | 46                 | 59                 | 32                 | 23                 | 231     | 2,298                               | 10                                   |
| Library of Congress.....                                 | 53                 | 58                 | 36                 | 55                 | 16                 | 22                 | 240     | 1,422                               | 17                                   |
| Maritime Commission.....                                 | 167                | 388                | 296                | 435                | 388                | 301                | 1,975   | 8,266                               | 24                                   |
| National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics.....         | 54                 | 1                  | 38                 | 515                | 370                | 130                | 1,108   | 3,767                               | 29                                   |
| National Archives.....                                   | 21                 | 25                 | 8                  | 8                  | 14                 | 8                  | 84      | 368                                 | 23                                   |
| National Capital Park and Planning Commission.....       | 0                  | 0                  | 0                  | 0                  | 6                  | 0                  | 6       | 18                                  | 33                                   |
| National Gallery of Art.....                             | 7                  | 3                  | 4                  | 7                  | 2                  | 2                  | 25      | 240                                 | 10                                   |
| National Housing Agency.....                             | 1,621              | 711                | 523                | 726                | 677                | 673                | 3,831   | 18,417                              | 21                                   |
| National Labor Relations Board.....                      | 133                | 83                 | 43                 | 28                 | 20                 | 13                 | 320     | 816                                 | 39                                   |
| National Mediation Board.....                            | 0                  | 0                  | 1                  | 1                  | 0                  | 0                  | 2       | 79                                  | 3                                    |
| Panama Canal.....  | 388                | 161                | 169                | 249                | 745                | 189                | 1,901   | 6,164                               | 32                                   |
| Railroad Retirement Board.....                           | 1,202              | 27                 | 95                 | 135                | 151                | 76                 | 686     | 1,632                               | 42                                   |
| Reconstruction Finance Corporation.....                  | 724                | 295                | 311                | 492                | 239                | 117                | 2,178   | 8,208                               | 27                                   |
| Export-Import Bank.....                                  | 1                  | 0                  | 4                  | 0                  | 10                 | 0                  | 15      | 55                                  | 27                                   |
| Securities and Exchange Commission.....                  | 59                 | 39                 | 54                 | 60                 | 37                 | 39                 | 278     | 1,319                               | 21                                   |
| Smithsonian Institution.....                             | 4                  | 6                  | 4                  | 7                  | 0                  | 3                  | 24      | 408                                 | 6                                    |
| Tariff Commission.....                                   | 16                 | 13                 | 16                 | 10                 | 4                  | 1                  | 60      | 310                                 | 19                                   |
| Tennessee Valley Authority.....                          | 269                | 893                | 355                | 717                | 708                | 867                | 3,339   | 12,364                              | 27                                   |
| U. S. Courts Administration.....                         | 6                  | 11                 | 2                  | 2                  | 8                  | 3                  | 32      | 99                                  | 32                                   |
| U. S. Tax Court.....                                     | 1                  | 2                  | 0                  | 0                  | 0                  | 0                  | 3       | 128                                 | 10                                   |
| Veterans' Administration.....                            | 1,266              | 1,476              | 599                | 471                | 374                | 455                | 4,641   | 44,228                              | 2                                    |
| Petroleum Administration for War.....                    | 61                 | 58                 | 44                 | 61                 | 34                 | 19                 | 277     | 1,341                               | 20                                   |
| Total.....   | 26,213             | 21,209             | 18,341             | 22,560             | 16,845             | 15,059             | 120,227 | 580,822                             | 20.7                                 |

<sup>1</sup> Averaged.<sup>2</sup> Incomplete.<sup>3</sup> Does not include Selective Service, National Youth Administration, and United States Employment Service.<sup>4</sup> Average of other months.<sup>5</sup> Estimated total.

## PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

Petitions, etc., were laid before the Senate, or presented, and referred as indicated:

By the VICE PRESIDENT:

A resolution adopted by a meeting at Pendle Hill, Pa., of the National Board of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, favoring the enactment of legislation to prevent inflation; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

A resolution adopted by the Michigan Board of Aeronautics, Lansing, Mich., protesting against the enactment of the bill (H. R. 3420) to amend the Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938, as amended, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Commerce.

A petition of sundry citizens of the Territory of Hawaii, praying for the enactment of pending legislation to repeal the Chinese exclusion acts; ordered to lie on the table.

By Mr. CAPPER:

A petition of members of the student body of Ottawa University, Ottawa, Kans., praying for the enactment of legislation to repeal the Chinese exclusion acts; ordered to lie on the table.

## PROHIBITION OF LIQUOR TRAFFIC DURING THE WAR—PETITIONS

Mr. O'DANIEL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to present petitions for appropriate reference and also to have inserted in the Record at this point

a tabulation showing 514 petitioners, praying for the enactment of the bill (H. R. 2082) to reduce absenteeism, conserve manpower, and speed production of materials necessary for the winning of the war.

There being no objection, the petitions were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and the tabulation was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

|                  |    |
|------------------|----|
| California.....  | 40 |
| Connecticut..... | 20 |
| Illinois.....    | 69 |
| Iowa.....        | 20 |
| Maryland.....    | 74 |

|              |     |
|--------------|-----|
| Minnesota    | 92  |
| Ohio         | 5   |
| Pennsylvania | 150 |
| Texas        | 3   |
| Wisconsin    | 41  |
| Total        | 514 |

#### PROHIBITION OF LIQUOR SALES AROUND MILITARY CAMPS—PETITIONS

Mr. O'DANIEL. Mr. President, I also ask unanimous consent to present for appropriate reference and to have inserted in the RECORD at this point a tabulation showing 5,365 petitioners, praying for the enactment of the bill (S. 860) to provide for the common defense in relation to the sale of alcoholic liquors to the members of the land and naval forces of the United States.

There being no objection, the petitions were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs, and the tabulation was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

|                |       |
|----------------|-------|
| Alabama        | 175   |
| Illinois       | 757   |
| Iowa           | 250   |
| Maine          | 17    |
| Maryland       | 103   |
| Massachusetts  | 1     |
| Michigan       | 60    |
| Minnesota      | 1,570 |
| New Jersey     | 2,039 |
| New York       | 49    |
| Ohio           | 79    |
| Pennsylvania   | 190   |
| South Carolina | 73    |
| Texas          | 2     |
| Total          | 5,365 |

#### GOVERNMENT FOR PUERTO RICO—RESOLUTION FAVORING PERMANENT UNION

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to present for printing in the RECORD and appropriate reference a resolution approved by the executive committee of the American Legion, Department of Puerto Rico, at its extraordinary meeting held November 11, 1943, at San Juan, P. R.

There being no objection, the resolution was referred to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Whereas the island of Puerto Rico has been a Territory of the United States for 45 years; and

Whereas persons born in Puerto Rico are American citizens and loyally and cheerfully as citizens of the United States have fought for their country in two major wars and are enthusiastically cooperating with the war effort; and

Whereas the vast majority of the people residing in Puerto Rico cherish and respect their citizenship and would resist any attempt from whatever source forthcoming to change it; and

Whereas the Department of Puerto Rico of the American Legion has gone on record on her insular conventions of 1931, 1939, 1940, 1941, and 1943, favoring statehood for Puerto Rico; and

Whereas Puerto Rico occupies a strategic location in any defense plan for our country especially with reference to the defense of the Panama Canal and of the east coast of the continental United States and of north and northeast coast of South America, all of tremendous importance to the national defense of our Nation: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the American Legion, Department of Puerto Rico:*

1. That the national executive committee of the American Legion be urgently requested to go on record as favoring the permanent union of Puerto Rico with the United States, under the American flag.

2. That the national commander of the American Legion be requested to personally convey the above expressed sentiment of the American Legion to the President of the United States of America.

3. That the legislative committee of the American Legion be requested to convey the same sentiment to the Members of the Congress of the United States.

4. That the adjutant of the department of Puerto Rico be instructed to send certified copies of this resolution by air mail to the national commander of the American Legion and to the national executive committee, and that the department commander be requested and instructed to communicate directly with the members of the national executive committee to urge upon them the importance and urgency of this resolution.

#### PRICE CEILINGS ON CATTLE AND HOGS—SHIPMENT OF OILSEED BYPRODUCTS IN UNMIXED FORMS

Mr. BUTLER presented resolutions adopted by the South Platte (Nebr.) United Chambers of Commerce, which were referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

To FRED M. VINSON,  
Director, Office of Economic Stabilization,  
Washington, D. C.:

1. Whereas recent action by the Office of Economic Stabilization to create live price ceilings on cattle adds to the confusion already created by live price ceilings on hogs and the June roll-back on cattle prices; and

2. Whereas this action will contribute to curtailment of livestock production far below the production goals for 1944, as established by the War Food Administration and will seriously hamper food production for the war effort and be detrimental to the economic welfare of the country; and

3. Whereas livestock producers today are operating under the least favorable relationship between feed costs and livestock prices since the beginning of the present emergency and cannot sensibly plan their operations on a sound basis in the face of continual changes in administration policies which result in confusion; and

4. Whereas there is no justification for ceiling prices on live animals and the resulting use of manpower in the administration of such program with wholesale and retail ceiling prices on beef and pork: Therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the Office of Economic Stabilization be most urgently requested to wholly rescind those parts of its recent order establishing live price ceilings on cattle and hogs, and that copies of this resolution be transmitted immediately by the secretary of this organization to Fred M. Vinson, Director, Office of Economic Stabilization, and to each of the United States Senators and Congressmen from the State of Nebraska.

SOUTH PLATTE UNITED  
CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE,  
GEO. E. OVERTURE, Secretary.

To MARVIN JONES,  
War Food Administrator,  
Washington, D. C.:

Whereas many Nebraska livestock, dairy, and poultry producers are accustomed to purchasing their protein supplements, such as soybean oil meal, cottonseed meal, and linseed oil meal in unmixed forms, as they

prefer to mix these supplements with home-produced feeds rather than to purchase mixed supplements of lower protein content which contain many feeds they produce at home; and

Whereas there is a fair supply of the mixed feeds but an extremely short supply of unmixed protein feeds available in this State; and

Whereas much labor in mixing and transportation could be saved by sending unmixed protein feeds to this State; and

Whereas the producers of meat, milk, and eggs are entitled to receive a percentage of the 1943 oilseed byproducts output in unmixed forms equal to the percentage distributed in unmixed forms prior to 1942: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the War Food Administrator be urged to take immediate action under the powers vested in him, to authorize and direct the Commodity Credit Corporation to make shipments of such oilseed byproducts in unmixed forms into this State; and that copies of this resolution be transmitted immediately by the secretary of this organization to Marvin Jones, War Food Administrator, and to each of the United States Senators and Congressmen from the State of Nebraska.

SOUTH PLATTE UNITED  
CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE,  
GEO. E. OVERTURE, Secretary.

#### ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION PRESENTED

Mrs. CARAWAY, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that on November 18, 1943, that committee presented to the President of the United States the following enrolled bills and joint resolution:

S. 321. An act to facilitate and simplify collection procedure in the Department of the Interior;

S. 364. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to settle certain claims;

S. 1336. An act to authorize the transportation of dependents and household effects of personnel of the Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard under certain conditions, and for other purposes;

S. 1354. An act to amend the act approved January 16, 1936, entitled "An act to provide for the retirement and retirement annuities of civilian members of the teaching staff at the United States Naval Academy and the Postgraduate School, United States Naval Academy"; and

S. J. Res. 59. Joint resolution authorizing the President of the United States of America to proclaim armed services honor day for the recognition and appreciation of the patriotic devotion to duty of all members of all branches of the armed military and naval forces of the United States of America.

#### EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF A COMMITTEE

As in executive session,

Mr. McKELLAR, from the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, reported favorably the nominations of sundry postmasters.

#### BILLS INTRODUCED

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. BUTLER:

S. 1540. A bill to amend the act relating to the construction and maintenance of a bridge across the Missouri River at or near Nebraska City, Nebr.; to the Committee on Commerce.



By Mr. CAPPER:

S. 1541. A bill conferring jurisdiction upon the United States District Court for the District of Kansas to hear, determine, and render judgment upon certain claims of A. L. Clem against the United States; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. WALSH:

S. 1542. A bill to provide for reimbursement of certain Navy personnel and former Navy personnel for personal property lost or damaged as the result of a fire in building B. O. Q. O-3 at the United States Naval Construction Training Center, Davisville, R. I., on March 27, 1943; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

#### WARTIME METHOD OF VOTING BY THE ARMED FORCES—AMENDMENTS

Mr. BROOKS submitted amendments intended to be proposed by him to the bill (S. 1285) to amend the act of September 16, 1942, which provided a method of voting, in time of war, by members of the land and naval forces absent from the place of their residence, and for other purposes, which were ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

#### PRICE SUPPORTS AND SUBSIDIES ON FARM PRODUCTS—STATEMENT BY JAMES G. PATTON

Mr. CAPPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a statement I have received from James G. Patton, president, National Farmers Union, setting forth the position of the Farmers Union with respect to price supports and subsidies on farm products.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NATIONAL FARMERS UNION,

Washington, D. C., November 20, 1943.

The Honorable ARTHUR CAPPER,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR CAPPER: In contrast to the intemperate demands of proinflation groups, let me call your attention, in connection with the forthcoming Senate debate on price supports and subsidies, to a reasoned and temperate statement of the problem and its solution offered at Cleveland, Ohio, on October 27 by a round table of the Food for Freedom Conference.

Mr. Murray Lincoln, executive secretary of the Ohio Farm Bureau Federation, headed the food production round table that adopted, as part of its report, the following statement:

"Consumers should demand that farmers be assured adequate prices, using selective subsidies when necessary to keep increases from spiraling into inflation through the stages of higher consumer prices, wages, and profits. In addition, consumers should insist that, as a part of a production pattern designed to meet national needs and do our share in meeting international needs, all farmers be enlisted and equipped for maximum production by credit, war risk crop insurance, priorities on seed, feed, fertilizer, machinery and labor, along with a program of technical assistance and education. As consumers press these demands effectively, dangerous gaps of misunderstanding \* \* \* between farmers and city people will be closed."

Mr. Lincoln's group, I submit, is to be commended for a moderate and logical statement of the principal elements of an adequate food program.

The past 2 weeks have witnessed the distressing spectacle of a coalition of packers, distributors, businessmen, cattle kings, and

big farmer representatives presuming to speak for the farmers of America. In its campaign to intimidate Congress, this coalition has made it appear that farmers are a selfish, blindly grasping group that puts profit before patriotism.

I know this is not true. Farmers have sent their sons to Bataan, and to Salerno, and into the skies over Nazi Europe. I know that these farmers do not desire to squeeze families already living on meager allowances from other sons, with higher and higher living costs. I don't believe that they want to face their sons, when they return, with dollars that have been cut in half by inflation.

Those who oppose the use of selective subsidies in order to hold the line have offered no alternative. They have been asked repeatedly what they propose in lieu of the price support-subsidy program. They answer that they want "a little inflation." The answer is a contradiction in terms. If price ceilings are broken in the fashion they desire, then the country will have not a little dose of the cocaine of inflation but an overdose. We have seen lately an example of what this could mean to farmers.

In the past few days, we have seen the strange coincidence of the arrival in Washington of a horde of so-called representatives of farmers, heavily salted with middlemen, and simultaneously in the livestock-growing areas a panicky flow of livestock that has swamped the handling capacity of some markets.

This is a sample of what uncertainty, instability, disunity, and inflation can do. Misrepresentation of the Government's guarantee of price supports is primarily responsible for wild marketing, and, in some markets, for the breaks in prices below the support prices. There is no justification whatever for farmers having to sell their stock at below support prices. The Government is still paying support prices for all meat it buys, and civilians are still short of an adequate supply for their own consumption. Farmers should not be misled by scare stories circulating in their regions and in Washington.

It is just this kind of economic and moral disruption and calculated chaos that accompanies inflation. The immediate result this time has been a temporary price break which will cost producers and consumers dearly. Deliberately fomented uncertainty as to future policies and powers with respect to support prices and subsidies made the break possible. Stability can be restored by prompt action renewing the Commodity Credit Corporation without the prohibition against subsidies. Continued delay, or renewal with the subsidy prohibition, will touch off new and greater uncertainties and disruptions that will pitch us into a dizzy whirl of inflation to be followed by worse price breaks and eventual collapse of markets and employment that can bring American agriculture to 30-cent wheat and \$3 hogs.

If the Congress forces on the country the inflationary policies that must inevitably result from the prohibition against subsidies now contained in H. R. 3477, the Commodity Credit Corporation bill, I am afraid it must bear the responsibility for putting us on the devil's scenic railway of inflation. This is a war issue, not a 1944 political issue.

As a nation, we have temporized with inflation too long. In the present fiscal year, income payments to individuals will total, it is estimated, \$152,000,000,000. Available goods and services can absorb only about \$89,000,000,000, leaving \$63,000,000,000. Personal taxes will reduce this by \$21,000,000,000 at the present rate, leaving about \$42,000,000,000, from which War bond sales may ab-

sorb about \$17,000,000,000, leaving a net excess of about \$25,000,000,000, very unevenly distributed, to bid up prices.

Faced with this immediate danger, selective subsidies for the double purpose of assuring farmers necessary prices and holding consumer prices stable are the only alternative to inflation. As you have already pointed out, and as President Roosevelt has emphasized, the opponents of subsidies have proposed no alternative to inflation. The conclusion is inescapable: we have the alternative of selective subsidies or inflation.

We, in the National Farmers Union, are convinced that working farmers generally prefer known markets at known fair prices, to gambling for higher and higher prices with a certainty that they will be cleaned out in the end. Such an orderly plan of all-out food production to meet war and post-war needs can be worked out, using war food production agreements equivalent to industrial war production contracts. But, in order to develop this plan or any other sensible and adequate plan, the present menace of inflation must be removed. The Government must have the authority to use subsidies when necessary in order to meet and discharge its dual responsibility for getting maximum war food production and at the same time preventing inflation. The immediate responsibility is upon the Congress.

Respectfully yours,

JAMES G. PATTON,

President, National Farmers Union.

#### PROPOSED WAGE INCREASE FOR RAILROAD EMPLOYEES

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a letter from Archie C. Lufkin, of Grand Forks, N. Dak., of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks and Freight Handlers, dealing with the proposed increase in the wages of railway employees by 8 cents an hour.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GRAND FORKS, N. DAK., November 17, 1943.

HON. WILLIAM R. LANGER,

Senator, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: I want you to do all you can to secure passage of Senate Joint Resolution 91 so we may have the meager pittance of 8 cents per hour increase that was granted us railroad employees after the long and lingering process of negotiation in compliance with all rules and laws.

I have not been able to keep my current bills paid up for several months. After such a small increase as 8 cents per hour is snatched just as we reached for it to put it into our pockets it is no wonder we "rails" are in no mood to be further kicked around.

Government agencies wink at overtime amounting to \$2 to \$3 per day in other industries and glibly say that it will help to bridge the gap between basic rates of pay and the increased cost of living. In the next breath they insult the intelligence of the railroad employees by just as glibly saying that our measly 64 cents per day would cause inflation and that the cost of living has only increased about 7 percent since January 1, 1941.

My grocery bill has increased about 90 percent since that date. It was between \$30 and \$32 per month then and now it averages \$58 per month. There has been no change in the size of my family. On the other hand my oldest daughter during the past year has bought most of her noon meals at school.

Yours truly,

ARCHIE C. LUFKIN,

Card 419, Lodge 488, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks and Freight Handlers.

#### THE WASHINGTON SCENE—ADDRESS BY SENATOR WILEY

[Mr. WILEY asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an address entitled "The Washington Scene," delivered by him November 17, 1943, before the National Founders' Association at their convention held in the Waldorf Astoria Hotel, New York City, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE REPUBLIC OF POLAND—TELEGRAM FROM SENATOR MEAD

[Mr. MEAD asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a telegram from him to Hon. John A. Pateracki, president of the General Pulaski Memorial Committee, on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Republic of Poland, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### PREVENTION OF ACCIDENTS—ADDRESS BY MAJ. GEN. T. A. TERRY

[Mr. MEAD asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an address by Maj. Gen. T. A. Terry, commanding the Second Service Command, Governors Island, N. Y., before the Junior Chamber of Commerce of Rochester, N. Y., November 10, 1943, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATIONS—ADDRESS BY JAMES L. FLY

[Mr. GREEN asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an address entitled "International Communications," delivered by Hon. James Lawrence Fly, Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, before the National Lawyers' Guild in Washington, D. C., on November 19, 1943, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### THE MOSCOW CONFERENCE—ADDRESS BY LOTHROP STODDARD

[Mr. SHIPSTEAD asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a radio address by Lothrop Stoddard, delivered on November 21, 1943, and having to do with the Moscow Conference, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### POST-WAR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS—ARTICLE BY WILLIAM PHILIP SIMMS

[Mr. SHIPSTEAD asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an article entitled "American Precedent," written by William Philip Simms and published in the Washington News of November 13, 1943, dealing with post-war international relationships, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### AIR POWER AND AMERICA'S AIR GENERALS

[Mr. DOWNEY asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a statement entitled "Air Power and America's Air Generals," a résumé of a special program arranged by the American Academy of Public Affairs and the Los Angeles Breakfast Club, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### HULL IGNORES OMINOUS SIGN IN EUROPE—ARTICLE BY CONSTANTINE BROWN

[Mr. WHEELER asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an article entitled "Hull Ignores Ominous Sign in Europe," written by Constantine Brown and published in the Washington Evening Star of November 20, 1943, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### REPUBLICAN STRATEGY—ARTICLE BY WALTER LIPPMANN

[Mr. GUFFEY asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an article entitled "Republican Strategy," written by Walter Lippmann and published in the Washington Post of November 20, 1943, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### RELIEF OF SINO-KOREAN PEOPLE

[Mr. GILLETTE asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a letter addressed to Hon. Herbert H. Lehman, Director General of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, on behalf of the Sino-Korean people, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### OUR FUTURE MERCHANT MARINE—EDITORIAL FROM COLUMBIA (S. C.) THE STATE

[Mr. MAYBANK asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "Our Future Merchant Marine" published in the Columbia (S. C.) The State, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### NEW FRONTIER: THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST—REPLIES TO ARTICLE IN COLLIER'S MAGAZINE

[Mr. HOLMAN asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a letter from Robert A. Hudson, president of Hudson-Duncan & Co., in comment on an article entitled "New Frontier: The Pacific Northwest," published in Collier's, as well as a letter by himself commenting on the same article, which appear in the Appendix.]

#### SACRIFICES TO COMMUNISM—EDITORIAL FROM THE CHICAGO AMERICAN

[Mr. LANGER asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "Sacrifices to Communism," from the Chicago American of November 22, 1943, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### NEED FOR PRACTICAL TREATY OF PEACE—ARTICLE FROM THE BOSTON HERALD

[Mr. BRIDGES asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an article entitled "Treaty That Works After-War Need," written by Bill Cunningham and published in the Boston Herald of November 21, 1943, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### GOVERNMENT LANDS—EDITORIAL FROM THE WASHINGTON POST

[Mr. ROBERTSON asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "Government Lands," from the Washington Post of November 22, 1943, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### WARTIME METHOD OF VOTING BY THE ARMED FORCES

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 1285) to amend the act of September 16, 1942, which provided a method of voting, in time of war, by members of the land and naval forces absent from the place of their residence, and for other purposes.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment reported by the committee.

Mr. GREEN. Mr. President, as chairman of the Committee on Privileges and Elections I desire to make a brief statement with respect to Senate bill 1285, which is now before the Senate. It is unnecessary to make an extended statement, because copies of the bill and of the hearings, as well as the report of the committee, were distributed to all Senators last Wednesday, and I have no doubt that those who are interested in the details of the proposed legislation have familiarized themselves with those documents.

Mr. President, there are millions of our fellow citizens who have entered the armed forces and are engaged through-

out the world in the bitter struggle to defend the institution of democracy. Basic to this institution in our own country is the right of qualified voters to participate in the election of their representatives to the Congress of the United States and in the election of the President and Vice President. The men and women who are most intimately engaged in this struggle should have an opportunity to exercise the right to vote which they are fighting to preserve. As individuals they deserve such opportunity. As a group they constitute such a large part of the electorate that any national election in which they did not participate could hardly be called representative.

For that reason, in the last session of the Congress, I introduced a bill in the Senate, and a similar bill was introduced at the same time in the other House, to give those in the active service of the Army and the Navy of the United States the right of absentee voting. The bill passed in spite of objections which had been made in various quarters as to some of its provisions being unconstitutional. These questions were all debated. They were decided affirmatively in the House and in the Senate, and the bill was signed by the President, and is now the law of the land.

Because of the late date when the bill was passed and because of the experience which the War and Navy Departments later had in administering the provisions of the law, which were found to be cumbersome in view of the amount of detailed attention which had to be given in administering its provisions, which interfered with military operations, and because of suggestions for improvement of the law which were received from secretaries of state of the several States, it was thought wise to amend the act in a number of particulars in fact, in so many particulars that it was deemed much better to introduce a new bill as a substitute for the existing law than to enumerate a long list of amendments to the law. However, most of the fundamental substantive provisions of existing law are retained in the pending bill, although the machinery for carrying out the provisions has been rearranged so as to lighten the burden placed on the military departments of the Government, and so as to make it easier for those in the field or at sea to vote.

The ballot has been simplified, and the machinery for casting the ballot has also been simplified. In order to lighten the administrative burdens of the War and Navy Departments, it has been thought wise, as a method to accomplish that end, to set up a bipartisan commission which will attend to the administrative work of putting into effect the provisions of the bill. This will lighten the work of the War and Navy Departments greatly.

In order to facilitate the voting by individuals in the service, the ballot has been simplified so that such persons, who cannot be expected to give much time to consideration of political questions while in active service, can fill out the ballot



which they will be given the opportunity to execute, swear to it before an officer, who, under the provisions of the pending bill, may be a noncommissioned officer instead of a commissioned officer, as under the present law, seal the ballot, and have it forwarded by the commanding officer of the unit to which the soldier who executes it belongs, to his superior, and from the superior the ballots in bulk are to be shipped to the commission in Washington, which will distribute the ballots according to the provisions of the law to the various secretaries of state, who will in turn distribute them to those who do the actual counting of the ballots, to be opened on election day, and no ballot may be opened by anyone between the time the soldier executes it in the field and the time it is counted together with the other ballots, as though the individual had cast the ballot at home.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GREEN. I yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Before the Senator leaves the discussion of the War Ballot Commission, I wonder if he would be good enough to permit me to ask one or two questions. The Senator has referred to the fact that the proposed commission is to be bipartisan, composed of two Republicans and two Democrats. The Senator made no reference to what would happen if there should be a disagreement among those four partisans. Will the Senator indicate for the Record what would happen at that point?

Mr. GREEN. Yes, I shall be glad to do so. Answering the question of the Senator from Michigan I may say that the bill as introduced in the present session provided for a commission of five, to be appointed by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, at least two of whom should be Republicans and at least two of whom should be Democrats, the fifth undesignated. It was finally thought advisable to omit the name of any political party, and, furthermore, objection having been made to the fact that the President might appoint a majority of his own party, it was thought advisable to provide simply that there should be two of the majority party and two of the minority party, and that in case of a tie, request should be made to the President to ask the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court to name one of a group of higher judges to act in the dispute as the fifth member and chairman of the commission.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator indicate to me why in selecting the judicial arbiter retired justices are eliminated?

Mr. GREEN. Mr. President, I do not know. I did not make the suggestion myself. I suppose the idea was that someone was wanted who was actively engaged on the bench. Some judges retire because of old age, because they do not want to keep in touch with active affairs, because they do not want to be bothered with public duties, and if they were retired rather than active, they would be less apt to understand the point in dispute and less willing to take the re-

sponsibility of deciding it. I assume that was the reason.

Mr. VANDENBERG. In view of the possible power which the fifth member of the War Ballot Commission might exercise, particularly under subsection (c) on page 32 of the bill, I am sure the Senator will agree that the designation of a reliable and dependable fifth member of the commission for such purposes is vitally important.

Mr. GREEN. I think its importance can easily be exaggerated. The duties of the commission would be almost purely administrative, to carry out the rather detailed provisions of the bill itself. There would be very small chance, it seems to me, for the commission to exercise any partisan or any political influence. It is possible, of course, for anyone connected with the whole procedure of balloting to be biased in one way or another, but there certainly can be no intimation of partisanship under the provision which the majority of the committee has recommended, because it is well known that the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court is a Republican. I have entire confidence in him, and I have no objection even though the bill itself provides for his naming an arbiter; that is really what the provision is.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I presume the language of the bill which provides that the President shall request the Chief Justice to act is used because we would have no authority to designate him to act; is that correct?

Mr. GREEN. That is correct.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, in view of the fact that in my opinion the selection of the arbiter goes to the very root, heart, and core of the integrity of the entire bill, as we found out under the electoral problem submitted in the Hayes-Tilden contest once upon a time, it seems to me that it is desperately important that there shall be no doubt about the fifth member of the war ballot commission. The bill as drawn hangs entirely upon the willingness of the Chief Justice to serve.

On Saturday—with some presumption, I confess—I came to the conclusion that this was of such vital concern that there ought not be any doubt, if there was any possibility of resolving the doubt, whether the Chief Justice would thus act. I therefore had the temerity to address an inquiry to him. I shall read to the Senator his reply, addressed to me, dated November 22:

I have your letter of the 20th instant, inquiring whether the Chief Justice of the United States would be likely to honor a request that he associate himself with the administration of the proposed law for the establishment of the United States ballot commission either as its chairman or by designating its members.

In response I feel free to say, for myself only, that I regard the performance of such a function as incompatible with obligations which I assumed with the office of Chief Justice, and as likely to impair my usefulness in that office. It is enough to say, without more, which might be said, that action taken by the Chief Justice in connection with the administration of the proposed legislation might become subject to review in the Court over which he presides and that

it might have political implications and political consequences which should be wholly dissociated from the duties of the judicial office. For that reason and for that only, as at present advised, I should feel obliged to decline such a request if made.

Yours sincerely,

HARLAN F. STONE.

I submit that to the Senator because it seems to me that obviously the bill must be rewritten at its very heart.

Mr. GREEN. Mr. President, I may say that I myself go still further in objecting to the provision, because I doubt very much the constitutionality of any provision limiting the appointive power of the Executive. Certainly, I regard the limitation of the Executive's appointments to any small group as taking away from the President powers which the Constitution gives to him alone.

Since the language under discussion was urged as an alternative to other provisions, and since it seemed to me obviously unpartisan, for my part, I assented to it. I should be very glad to accept any constitutional provision which might be offered which would secure not only the nonpartisan action of the commission but afford assurance to the people of the country that they may have confidence in its nonpartisan action.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ANDREWS in the chair). Does the Senator from Rhode Island yield further to the Senator from Michigan?

Mr. GREEN. I yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. In view of the letter from the eminent Chief Justice, it certainly becomes obvious that the language in the pending bill will have to be changed. For the Senator's information, I will suggest to him on my own account that I am prepared to move that the commission be left with four members, two Republicans and two Democratic members, with the provision that any action taken by the commission at any time shall be by a majority of the entire commission. So far as I am concerned that will be a satisfactory check against any possible fear or suspicion of political maladministration, because then in the case of every decision at least one adverse political vote will have to be cast with the majority.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GREEN. I yield for a question.

Mr. BRIDGES. The Senator made the statement that he believed it was unconstitutional to put a limit on the appointive power of the President of the United States. Is the Senator aware that that has been done time and time again by the Congress?

Mr. GREEN. Yes; I am aware of it.

Mr. BRIDGES. Is the Senator also aware that laws making such provision have been enacted and are in force and have stood?

Mr. GREEN. Yes; I am aware of that fact.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator a question about another matter. As I understand, the elections are now held under and



by the State authorities. Is there any reason the Senator knows of why a bill could not be drawn which would leave to the State authorities the performance of the work? My recollection is that there is no Federal law now governing the general elections. I do not believe there has been any complaint about elections for many years, so far as I know, certainly not about Presidential elections in the last quarter century or more. I am merely wondering why we wish at this late day to have the Federal Government take over any part of the elections in our country, even though the persons affected may be soldiers. I think it would be infinitely better to direct that the State authorities be required to perform this service. Does not the Senator think so?

Mr. GREEN. Mr. President, the answer is that the Congress of the United States some 13 months ago passed a law under which the Federal Government made provision for voting by the members of the armed forces in the field. The law provided for the distribution of ballots, and so forth. As I said in my introductory remarks—

Mr. McKELLAR. I was not here at that time, I am sorry to say.

Mr. GREEN. The machinery was so cumbersome and the ballot so complicated that the attempt failed of its purpose. A number of soldiers in various parts of the world did vote under the provisions of that bill; but out of the millions of persons in the service who were disenfranchised by the action of Uncle Sam in drafting them or by accepting their voluntary offer of service, only some 28,000, so far as we can ascertain, voted, instead of the millions entitled to vote.

Mr. McKELLAR. I have been informed—I do not know whether correctly or not, because I have not looked into the question—that all the States of the Union except one have provided for voting by soldiers, and that the one State which has not so provided is likely to enact a law making such provision.

Mr. GREEN. The Senator is almost correct. There are two States which have no provision for absentee balloting. However, in most instances the State laws are absolutely ineffective.

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GREEN. I should like to finish the answer to the question raised by the Senator from Tennessee. The laws of the 46 States which have such laws are all different. The machinery is not applicable to wartime. The time consumed by the various methods of securing and casting the ballots is so prolonged that the State laws are ineffective in providing the soldiers with the opportunity to vote.

Take the State of New York as one illustration. A person otherwise entitled to vote must first request an application blank. He must send to the secretary of state a request for an application blank. The secretary of state must send it back to him. Then he must sign the application for a ballot and send it to the secretary of state.

The secretary of state must then send the ballot back to him. Then the ballot must be executed and returned to the secretary of state to be counted. That procedure represents five different transactions. In this bill they are reduced to one. Of course, the time varies according to the distance away the man may be and the accessibility of the place. It has been calculated that in the Far East the procedure would require between 80 and 90 days.

Some State laws provide that the forms must be sent out within a shorter period than that. It is absolutely impracticable to conduct the balloting according to the laws of the several States. Furthermore, the heads of the War Department and the Navy Department, although they are willing to afford facilities for voting under a State law, find it almost impossible to keep track of the laws of all the States and the various provisions which must be followed. Every unit in the field must be provided with information as to the laws of all the States. The men in the service are not distributed according to geographical regions. There is no telling where a man who may be entitled to vote according to the laws of his own State may be located. The burden on the administration is just as great as though there were voting citizens from all 48 States in each unit.

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question on another matter?

Mr. GREEN. I yield.

Mr. GILLETTE. The bill provides for commissioners to serve a term not exceeding the duration of the war and 6 months thereafter. My question is, did the committee give consideration to the possibility, which has been seriously suggested, of an extended armistice period? Hostilities may cease, but the war may not be terminated. Under this provision the authority of the Commission might be projected into the future, into another election.

Mr. GREEN. I do not know how long the war will last, and I do not know how long any armistice may last; but so long as the war is not terminated, there will be hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of men away from home and unable to vote because of their service in the Army or Navy.

Mr. GILLETTE. The Senator means termination of the war by a treaty of peace?

Mr. GREEN. Yes. That question has been considered. It seemed only fair that those men should continue to have the right to vote if they were continued in service after the actual fighting had ceased.

I wish to emphasize again—and perhaps I shall have to do so several times in the course of this discussion—that this bill is not an original bill. It is in effect an amendment of the existing law. We have not tried to cure all the existing evils by it; we have not tried to cure all the evils connected with balloting. We have simply tried to make only such changes in the existing law as are necessary, in our opinion, so as to make it

workable. We think we have at last a bill which would be workable.

We cannot guarantee that even under this bill all soldiers and sailors and others entitled to vote under it would vote. But even if they should not vote, the bill would remove any reason for charging that legislation was enacted without their consent or the consent of representatives of their choice while they were away from home and prevented from voting by reason of their service. In other words, unless this bill is passed, the charge which was made in connection with the passage of the Volstead Act may be made against all legislation enacted by Congress and signed by the President elected at the next election, or at future elections during the war, in case the war should not end before that time. For the sake of the national morale and the morale of the soldiers and sailors themselves, I hope that the bill may be promptly passed.

As compared with the existing law, the bill would enlarge the number of those who may avail themselves of the privilege of voting. It is not limited, as is the existing law, to members of the Army and Navy of the United States. It seemed unfair not to extend the same privilege to members of the Marine Corps and the Coast Guard or any of their components. Their duties are much the same. Their services have been the same. The dangers to which they are subjected are equal. In fact, I believe figures could be cited to show that the casualties among those branches of the service are as great as in the Army or Navy.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GREEN. I yield.

Mr. TYDINGS. The Senator may have covered the subject before I entered the Chamber. If he did, I do not wish to have him go over it again. As a practical legal matter, I have been wondering how, no matter what our desire might be, we could overcome an impediment such as the following: I understand that some States—it is not true of my State—require that a voter exhibit his poll-tax receipt as a qualification for voting. Without for the moment saying whether that is good or bad, I am wondering if the Federal Government can permit a voter from such a State to vote if he has not paid his poll tax.

Mr. GREEN. I think there is no doubt whatever of the power to do so, under the general war powers. Such powers have in fact been exercised. The provision in this bill is not new. That is a provision of the existing law. Furthermore, it is analogous to many other laws which Congress has enacted. Congress has enacted laws interfering with many civil rights. It should be able to enact laws relating to political rights as well. In matters of litigation, one cannot proceed against a soldier in wartime as he can against a civilian. Congress has taken it upon itself to protect the soldier who is absent and cannot get home to protect his civil rights. The States and municipalities cannot collect taxes in the absence of a soldier. His property cannot



be levied upon, and mortgages cannot be foreclosed. Private contracts cannot be terminated. Such provisions are plainly constitutional. Many a decision has been rendered by the Supreme Court upholding such interference with civil rights. Such provisions would be unconstitutional in time of peace, but are constitutional in time of war. It is not that the Constitution is suspended. The Constitution provides for the Congress declaring and waging war to a successful conclusion; and it must do everything it deems necessary to that end.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator further yield?

Mr. GREEN. I yield.

Mr. TYDINGS. I have not made a study of the legal questions involved, and have not looked up the decisions as I am sure the Senator and the committee considering the bill have done. But insofar as it is bottomed on the practical relevancy which the Senator used to illustrate what might be done in this case, I do not think the analogy is a sound one.

For example, when a soldier is in the Army the law says that he cannot be proceeded against in a civil court to any extent which would impair his property rights and his personal rights. The liability which he had has been suspended. The law does not give him a right that he did not previously have. I am not saying that perhaps there is not a way around this situation legally, but as a matter of good law I can see a great difference between saying to a soldier, "No one shall take advantage during your absence of such rights as you had at the time you went away" and conferring upon him an extra right which he did not have when he left. It seems to me that the analogy is not a good one. There may be precedents, and cases which would be on all fours with the Senator's position. If so, I have certainly not read them, and I am not in a position to argue them legally. But I can see a great distinction between saying that a case against a soldier shall not be tried because he cannot be present, and conferring upon him a right which the law of the State had not conferred upon him at the time he went into the service. One is a sort of *ex post facto* proposition, and the other is one in future, so to speak.

Mr. MILLIKIN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GREEN. Perhaps I should first answer the question, and then I shall yield to the Senator from Colorado.

I may say that this bill would not create any new interference with State law. The existing law, which was enacted a year ago, interfered with it in only two respects, both of them relating to conditions of voting. One was with reference to registration, and the other was with reference to the payment of a poll-tax. That does not mean that a soldier is relieved of the obligation to pay the tax. It simply means that the fact he has not paid the tax and has not registered shall not be used against him in his exercise of the fundamental citizenship right of voting. The collection of

the tax is merely suspended. That is because the United States Government has taken those men and prevented them from doing those very things. The Government does not mean to take away from the man any more than it has to of his right to vote, but it has made it impossible for him to comply with certain conditions which the State laws have made preliminary conditions of his right to vote. So we are not taking away anything. Or, if we have taken anything away we are simply restoring to him a right which he already had. If he had remained at home he would have had that right. Being away, and not being able to comply with the conditions, he should not have the right taken away from him. We should simply waive the conditions.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator again yield?

Mr. GREEN. I yield.

Mr. TYDINGS. If we may carry further the analogy which the Senator has pointed out, there are two things which seem to me to disprove the position he has taken. For example, if the soldier had not gone away he would have had the right to vote provided he had paid his poll tax. If there were no poll tax I can see how the Federal law might come in. But it is somewhat difficult for me to reason out legally how the Federal Government can set aside a legal qualification of the State, such qualification being of itself not a right, but a limitation on a right. There may be a way around it. Merely as a theory I might suggest that the Federal Government pay the poll tax of everyone in the service—\$2, \$1, or \$3 a head, or whatever the tax may be. Then the Federal Government should tax those payments so that it could recover all of it into the Treasury. At least that would put the States in a position in which the law would be complied with, and the State's rights, so-called, or the State's responsibility, or prerogatives would not be set aside or invaded.

Mr. BILBO. Mr. President—

Mr. GREEN. I should like to first answer the Senator from Maryland, and then I shall be glad to yield.

In answer to the Senator from Maryland, there are numerous illustrations which seem to me to be analogous, and I am sure he will find some of them to be so in his opinion. I had prepared—and perhaps I might as well use it now as at any other time—a list of a number of them. In order to get them into the Record I should like to state them now.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator further yield?

Mr. GREEN. I yield.

Mr. TYDINGS. I had no disposition to divert the Senator from the thread of his argument. So far as I am concerned, if he will put his list of citations in the Record it will be the equivalent of relating it. I wished only to know what his citations were.

Mr. GREEN. The same question may have arisen in the minds of other Senators.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GREEN. I yield.

Mr. LUCAS. I should like to invite the attention of the Senate and of the Senator from Maryland to section 2 of the existing law, being Public Law 712 of the Seventy-seventh Congress. Section 2 reads as follows:

No person in military service in time of war shall be required, as a condition of voting in any election for President, Vice President, electors for President or Vice President, or for Senator or Member of the House of Representatives, to pay any poll tax or other tax or make any other payment to any State or political subdivision thereof.

That is the law at the present time. It is for the emergency only. I take it that is primarily the reason why only five Senators voted against this provision in August or September, 1942, when it was passed by the Senate.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GREEN. I think I should answer the Senator's question before we go to other bypaths.

Mr. TYDINGS. I do not wish to conduct any debate on the question, but since the Senator from Illinois has read the law on the subject I am more convinced than ever that that law is not good law, even though Congress enacted it. The mere passage of a law by Congress does not make a bad law a good one. If it does not have a legal foundation it is not good. It is void *ab initio*. I should like to see the imperfections eliminated, but it would be a fallacy to assume that all we have to do in order to eliminate an imperfection is to enact a law.

Mr. LUCAS. The only point I am making is that the question was rather thoroughly debated in September 1942 on the floor of the Senate. Only five Senators voted against this provision at that time. The Senator from Maryland voted for the bill.

Mr. TYDINGS. I may have voted for the bill, Mr. President; but I have voted for many bills, as has every other Senator, without having been on the committee or having had the privilege of hearing all the debate. Many such bills are better drawn than was the one which was passed on the occasion to which the Senator refers. I was willing to give the soldiers the benefit of the doubt on the vote, on the theory that the bill went as far as it could go. My purpose is not to block the proposed legislation if the bill would carry out the purpose which the Senator from Illinois has in mind; but the question is whether we are carrying out that purpose by passing the bill in the shape in which I understand it to be.

Mr. LUCAS. If I may have one further word—

Mr. GREEN. I yield to the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. LUCAS. The poll tax issue is now before the Judiciary Committee. I understand that sooner or later it may be brought to the floor of the Senate. But undoubtedly those who are definitely opposed to the poll-tax measure becoming the fundamental law of the land—as many Members of the Senate are—did



not see fit 2 years ago to take the same position with respect to the poll-tax measure as it related to the soldiers of this war.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GREEN. I am somewhat afraid if the Senator from Maryland continues I shall forget his original question.

Mr. TYDINGS. I desire to ask one more question. I think the poorest argument in the world that can be made for or against anything is to say that 5 years ago such-and-such a proposition was under consideration and one either favored it or opposed it. That is not the question here. The question here is this: Is the vehicle which is now before the Senate sufficiently strong and legally constructed to carry the load which the Senate has in mind, which is to give the soldiers the vote. In my opinion, the vehicle which was provided 2 years ago, as I recall—

Mr. GREEN. One year ago.

Mr. TYDINGS. One year ago, to which the Senator from Illinois refers, was rather in the nature of a repair job, made up of generalities rather than legal precepts carefully engrafted into the law itself. I am not taking issue with the Senator's viewpoint that it would be a desirable thing to let the soldiers vote. Frankly, I should like to see it done; I would even go so far as to say I believe I would favor a constitutional amendment eliminating the poll tax, which is utterly different from a law of Congress proposing to do something which Congress may not have the power to do. That is all my point is.

Mr. GREEN. To continue my own thought, if I may resume the floor, I wish to emphasize the fact that this provision which is now the present law has nothing to do with the constitutionality of the poll tax anywhere. It is perfectly logical for anyone who voted for it a year ago to vote for it now, and still oppose the repeal of the poll tax. This bill has nothing whatever to do with that. The question is simply whether the collection of such a tax from men in the armed services in time of war can be used to prevent their voting; that is all.

Now for the analogies if I may answer the question of the Senator, who asked me for analogous cases. I should not like to put them in the RECORD without reading, for I am afraid the Senator from Maryland might not have time to read the RECORD, and so if he will bear with me with his presence here in the Chamber, although it is almost lunch time, I shall be glad to cite him certain provisions of law which it seems to me to be analogous and to prove that the Congress has a right to legislate on these matters as it sees fit, and, during the war, it is constitutional for the Congress to do so.

I shall not read, but shall put in the RECORD the references to the laws in order to save time and help to clarify the statement.

Among the laws which have been passed by the Congress under its war powers are the following:

First. The Soldiers' and Sailors' Civil Relief Act of 1940—the act of October 17, 1940, chapter 888, 54 Statute 1178, title 50, U. S. C., section 51, Appendix—provides for the stay of any action or proceeding in any court in which a person in military service is involved either as plaintiff or defendant during the period of military service or within 60 days after military service is completed. Stays may be ordered for as long as the period of military service and 3 months thereafter.

The act also provides for the exclusion of the period of military service in the running of the statute of limitations relating to any action by or against any person in military service whether the cause of action accrued prior to or accrues during the period of military service.

Both those provisions would be unconstitutional in peacetime; they are constitutional in wartime.

The same law forbids eviction or distress in respect of any premises whose rent is less than \$80 per month occupied by any dependent of a person in military service except upon leave of court. Unless the ability of the tenant to pay the rent is not materially affected by military service, eviction or distress proceedings must be stayed.

Furthermore, comparable provisions apply to installment contracts for purchase of property and to mortgages upon real or personal property. Sale of property to enforce the collection of taxes or assessments is also forbidden, except upon leave of court.

I think that is closely analogous, and both those provisions, while they would be unconstitutional in peacetime, are constitutional in wartime.

Second. The censorship law (sec 303 of the First War Powers Act, 55 Stat. 840, title 50, U. S. C., sec. 618, appendix), authorizes the President during time of war to cause to be censored under such rules and regulations as he prescribes any communication passing between the United States and any foreign country. That would be unconstitutional in peacetime; it is constitutional in wartime.

Third. The requisition laws (the act of October 16, 1941, 55 Stat. 742, title 50, U. S. C., sec. 721 appendix), authorize the President during time of war under certain conditions to requisition materials needed for the defense of the United States.

Fourth. The Priorities Statute—section 301 of the Second War Powers Act, 56 Statutes 177, United States Code, title 50, section 633 appendix—authorizes the President to grant priorities in the delivery of material under Army and Navy contracts over all deliveries for private account or for export.

Those provisions would be unconstitutional in peacetime; they are constitutional in wartime.

Fifth. The law providing for internment of enemy aliens—Revised Statutes, section 4067; 40 Statutes 531, United States Code, title 50, section 21—authorizes the arrest and internment of enemy aliens.

Sixth. Seizure of enemy property—Trading With the Enemy Act of 1917 as amended by section 301 of the First War Powers Act—provides for the vesting of any property or interest of any enemy country or national in the United States.

Seventh. Punishment for Violation of Orders of Military Authorities—Public, No. 503, of Seventy-seventh Congress, approved March 21, 1942. This act provides criminal penalties for anyone who shall enter, remain in, leave, or commit any act in any military area prescribed, under authority of an Executive order of the President, by the Secretary of War or an authorized military commander contrary to the restrictions applicable to that area or the order of the military commander.

In *Hirabayashi v. United States*, October term, 1942, No. 870, the Supreme Court sustained the constitutionality of this statute under the war powers and the validity of a curfew ordered thereunder for persons of Japanese ancestry on the west coast, including American citizens. That goes much further than the instance we were discussing. In discussing the war power Chief Justice Stone said:

The war power of the National Government is "the power to wage war successfully." (See Charles Evans Hughes, War Powers Under the Constitution, 42 A. B. A. Rep. 232, 238.) It extends to every matter and activity so related to war as substantially to affect its conduct and progress. The power is not restricted to the winning of victories in the field and the repulse of enemy forces.

Eighth. The Wartime Prohibition Act of the First World War. This, I know, will appeal to the Senator from Maryland:

The act of November 21, 1918 (40 Stat. 1045) (approved 10 days after the armistice with Germany), provided that after a given date and "until the conclusion of the present war and \* \* \* the termination of demobilization \* \* \* for the purpose of conserving the manpower of the Nation, and to increase efficiency in the production of arms, munitions, ships, food, and clothing for the Army and Navy, it shall be unlawful to sell for beverage purposes any distilled spirits, and during said time no distilled spirits held in bond shall be removed therefrom for beverage purposes except for export \* \* \*."

A similar prohibition was applied to the sale for beverage purposes of "beer, wine, or other intoxicating malt or vinous liquor."

By the Volstead Act of October 28, 1919 (enacted over the President's veto—before the effective date of the eighteenth amendment), it was provided that "intoxicating liquor" means "any beverage containing one-half of 1 percent or more of alcohol by volume."

This legislation was sustained by the Supreme Court under the war power—as a war measure (*Hamilton v. Kentucky Distilleries Co.*, 251 U. S. 146; *Jacob Ruppert v. Caffey*, 251 U. S. 264), though the eighteenth amendment makes clear that constitutional change was needed to authorize such legislation in time of peace.

But in time of war it was constitutional.

In sustaining the legislation the Supreme Court rested solely on the power of the Congress to "increase war efficiency" and to adopt measures thought to be necessary for the attainment of that end.



If such a measure as the Volstead Act could be sustained as constitutional by the Supreme Court, how about doing away with the collection of a poll tax in the interest of enlisted men who have been taken away and prevented by the war from paying it?

Mr. MILLIKIN. Will the Senator from Rhode Island yield?

Mr. GREEN. I yield to the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. MILLIKIN. I rose to my feet because I thought I understood the Senator to say awhile ago that during wartime the Constitution may be suspended.

Mr. GREEN. No; quite the contrary. I never made any such statement.

Mr. MILLIKIN. I am very glad to hear the Senator say that.

Mr. GREEN. I am merely saying that it is constitutional to do things in wartime, under the provisions of the Constitution itself, as construed by the Supreme Court, which would not be constitutional in peacetime.

Mr. MILLIKIN. In other words, when we are in war, certain wartime powers expressly stated in the Constitution come into effect.

Mr. GREEN. They are not all expressly stated, but they are expressed or implied in the Constitution of the United States as construed by the Supreme Court.

Mr. MILLIKIN. Will the Senator agree with me that if they are implied, they are implied from something which is expressly stated?

Mr. GREEN. That is correct.

Mr. MILLIKIN. So that, after all, we have a constitutional question. In peacetimes we have to look to certain parts of the Constitution which are normal to peacetime. In wartime we have to consider those parts of the Constitution which come into effect in wartime, and there may be a problem of reconciling peacetime provisions with wartime provisions. Does the Senator agree with me?

Mr. GREEN. I agree with the Senator, with the added statement that under the Supreme Court decisions wartime necessities have priority over peacetime necessities.

Mr. MILLIKIN. I should not wish to go all the way along with that. I imagine that there are some provisions of the Constitution which cannot be impaired even in wartime. The Senator has cited a case in which we have restricted the movements of American citizens of Japanese ancestry. But before doing that, we have to set up a war area which in theory is subject to invasion, and in that kind of an area it is conceivable that the rights of an American citizen who might not have Japanese ancestry could be curtailed in manners different from curtailments which would be valid in peacetime.

My point is that there are war powers set forth in the Constitution which do not override peacetime provisions of the Constitution except in certain cases where there are certain foundations for that kind of action.

Mr. GREEN. The Senator from Colorado is entirely correct, and the basis for the proposed action is that the Gov-

ernment has practically taken away from the men in the armed services who are fighting for their country overseas or in this country, it does not matter which, the fundamental right of voting, which, so far as it can be consistent with military necessity, should be restored to them. Throughout the bill will be found over and over again the statement that these things must be done, but not if inconsistent with the requirements of the military situation.

Mr. GILLETTE. Will the Senator yield further?

Mr. GREEN. I yield.

Mr. GILLETTE. Will the Senator give me information as to what was the reason behind the extension of the voting privilege, with exemption from payment of poll tax and exemption from the necessity of registration, to all officers and employees of the United States who happened to be outside the United States?

Mr. GREEN. That is because their situation seemed to be like that of men in the armed services. The secretary of a legation abroad, wherever he may be in the world is nowadays largely engaged in war work. Other civilians are sent overseas in connection with war work. It does not apply to everyone who is doing voluntary work; it applies to those in the employ of the United States, or whose work is associated with that of the armed forces.

Mr. GILLETTE. If the Senator will yield further, it applies to those who are attached to or are serving with the armed forces, or any other officers or employees, whether connected with the armed forces or not.

Mr. GREEN. That is correct, because they are doing war work, although they are not connected with the armed forces. In other words, they may not be under the absolute control of the War Department or the Navy Department, or even of the Maritime Commission, but they are engaged in war work. They may be employees of the United States Government overseas, building highways, building docks, doing we cannot tell what.

Mr. GILLETTE. But irrespective of whether they are connected with war work or not, they come under this authority?

Mr. GREEN. There is hardly any employee of the United States who is not now engaged in war work. That is the theory.

Mr. TAFT. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. GREEN. I yield.

Mr. TAFT. A question has been raised regarding the constitutionality of the poll-tax provision. Of course, there are other grounds upon which it has been held, and there are legal opinions to that effect before the Committee on the Judiciary, that a poll tax may be abolished by act of Congress. What worries me more about this subject than anything else is the question whether there is any power in Congress to deal with the method of choosing Presidential electors. There is nothing in the Constitution, so far as I can find, which authorizes Congress to deal with the selection of Presidential electors. The provision which gives Congress the right

to regulate the method of election of Representatives and Senators does not mention Presidential electors, nor does any other provision of the Constitution mention Presidential electors. So that I wonder whether the Senator is claiming the right of Congress to make the proposed enactment from the Constitution, or from the war powers to which he has been referring.

Mr. GREEN. I think that the considerations which sustain the application of the bill to the election of Presidential electors are similar to those in connection with the application of the bill to the election of Senators and Representatives, although the provisions in the Constitution are separate. The provisions relating to Presidential elections are treated in article II, section 1, of the Constitution, and the sections are as follows:

Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress.

Next:

The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

Mr. TAFT. Does not the Senator think that, since one provision says that Congress may choose the time, whereas the other provision says they may determine the time, place, and manner of choosing Representatives and Senators, it is clearly implied that Congress is not given the power to determine in any way the place or the method of choosing presidential electors?

Mr. GREEN. No, I do not think that is a justifiable deduction.

Mr. TAFT. Why not? No express authority of any kind is given anywhere in the Constitution for Congress to deal in any way with the selection of presidential electors. I wonder whether the Senator from Rhode Island is relying solely on the war powers for those provisions or whether he thinks there is something in the Constitution which would authorize the Congress to act.

Mr. GREEN. As I understand the argument of the Senator from Ohio it is that the explicit grant of power to Congress to determine the time of choosing the electors was intended to exclude Federal authority in all other respects.

Mr. TAFT. Clearly the Constitution gives only power which is expressly granted or which can be implied. That is the general principle of the Constitution. We cannot imply simply from the grant of power to Congress to provide the time of choosing electors, any power of providing the method or the place of choosing electors.

Mr. GREEN. I think the Supreme Court has answered the question really, in *Burroughs and Cannon v. United States* (290 U. S. 534).

Mr. TAFT. No, Mr. President, I do not think the Supreme Court did anything of the kind in that case. The Court simply held that Congress could punish fraud in elections having some general relation to Congress, as it could punish

fraud in the election of Representatives and Senators, but I do not see anything in Burroughs and Cannon against The United States that would in any way imply power of Congress to pass any Federal election law for the choosing of Presidential electors.

Mr. GREEN. I regret that I must disagree with the learned Senator from Ohio. I admit that there is room for argument on both sides. But the case in question decided that—

The President is vested with the executive power of the Nation. The importance of his election and the vital character of its relationship to and effect upon the welfare and safety of the whole people cannot be too strongly stated.

Congress, undoubtedly, possesses that power, as it possesses every other power essential to preserve the departments and institutions of the general Government from impairment or destruction, whether threatened by force or by corruption.

Certainly if a Presidential election may be protected from destruction, it may also be protected from distortion which would be caused by the enforced absence of a substantial body of the electorate.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, I notice in the report of the committee that the Senator also relies on the war power as authorizing the bill.

Mr. GREEN. Absolutely. I think that alone would justify it.

Mr. TAFT. I wish to suggest to the Senator that it seems to me the moment we apply the war power to elections we get into very dangerous ground indeed. It seems to me that the moment we say that the Congress may set aside specific provisions of the Constitution relating to elections because of the war powers, we are getting into the field where we may say that Congress can postpone the elections altogether. We are then practically saying that express language of the Constitution, express methods for election provided by the Constitution, may be changed by Congress because of the war. I believe that would be a very dangerous thing. I do not believe we can, because of the war, warp or stretch the Constitution or change its express provisions, without a constitutional amendment.

Mr. GREEN. I think the fundamental theory is that while it may be dangerous to exercise the war powers, yet it is still more dangerous not to fight a successful war against a challenge to the continuance of all our institutions.

Mr. TAFT. I may suggest to the Senator that I cannot think of anything more dangerous to our institutions than to have a serious constitutional doubt with respect to the result of the next Presidential election. If we were to repeat the occurrences of the Hayes-Tilden election and enter upon the election with a serious question which is going to be referred to some court to determine who is President of the United States, it seems to me we could not face a more serious danger. I do not want to present a definite view of my own at the present moment as to the constitutional question, but I think it is vitally essential that whatever we do shall be so consti-

tutional that it will not involve a serious controversy in the courts as to the outcome of the United States Presidential election.

Mr. EASTLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GREEN. I yield.

Mr. EASTLAND. I should like to tell the Senator from Ohio that I thoroughly agree with him. The measure, in my judgment, is unconstitutional and its enactment will certainly cast grave doubt on the validity of the next Presidential election, and upon the election of Senators and Representatives.

The Senator from Ohio mentioned the Hayes-Tilden controversy. That controversy was decided on the ground that the Congress could not go behind the certificate of appointment of Presidential electors by the executive authority of the State. This bill sets up a commission to control the elections of this country and provides that if that commission certifies—regardless of what the State executive certifies—that this act had not been complied with, then Congress claims the authority to refuse to count the electoral votes of that State, which is something that we do not have a right to do.

I think the whole measure is unconstitutional, and that its enactment will throw us into turmoil such as we had in 1876. I think there will be grave doubt with respect to the election, that in a close election many weeks will be consumed in contests to decide who has been elected President of the United States. Furthermore, when we decide that a State has not complied with the provisions of the act, and refuse to count the electoral votes, then by the same token we would be justified in refusing to seat a Senator, or the House of Representatives would be justified in refusing to seat a Member of that body who had been elected by the same ballots.

Mr. MILLIKIN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GREEN. I do not know whether I should reply to the Senator from Mississippi first, but I will yield to the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. MILLIKIN. If the Senator will be good enough to yield for the purpose I think it might be well to read into the Record at this point the pertinent provisions of the Constitution with reference to the manner and time and place of selection of electors. The second paragraph of article II, section 1, of the Constitution, says:

Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

The fourth paragraph of the same article and section says:

The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

I observe at that point that so far Congress has not been given power to deter-

mine the manner of choosing electors and the States have been given such power.

In the twelfth amendment it is provided:

The electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for President and Vice President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the persons voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate.

I simply wish to observe at this point that the proposed act has several very direct violations of those provisions; and I hope the distinguished Senator will reconcile his bill, or will attempt to do so, with those provisions of the Constitution.

Mr. BURTON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GILLETTE in the chair). Does the Senator from Rhode Island yield to the Senator from Ohio?

Mr. GREEN. I yield.

Mr. BURTON. Just before the discussion turned to the matter of electors and voters for Representatives and Senators, I was interested in the point raised by the distinguished Senator from Iowa, if I may refer to it for a moment. He was referring to section 102, subsection (c), subdivision 2, on page 20, which provides that the bill shall apply to civilians outside the United States who are attached to and serving with the armed forces or are officers or employees of the United States.

Of course, I am sympathetic with the fundamental purpose of making some provision, during wartimes, so that members of the armed forces shall participate in elections, inasmuch as they have been drafted or, being under orders, have been sent away. I merely wonder how the Senator justifies applying the provisions of the bill to officers or employees of the United States who are not drafted or are not outside the United States under orders, and who, during wartime, and under war conditions, are carrying out precisely the same duties they carry out during peacetimes—for instance, our consular officers in foreign fields and persons similarly employed, who are not compelled to be where they are during wartime any more than they are compelled to be there during peacetime. Let me inquire why the provisions of the bill should apply to them.

Mr. GREEN. I may say in answer to the Senator that most of the officers and employees of the United States now are engaged in war work. There may be some whose duties are the same as they were in peacetime, but the number of such persons is negligible. Most of them—and it is on that theory that the provisions of the bill would be extended to them—are engaged in war work; and even if otherwise some of them could go



home to vote or could comply with the provisions of the absentee ballot law of their State, in case their State had one, yet most of them could not; and they have to move around from place to place, according as they are ordered or are requested to do by the Government. For that reason it seemed that it would be better to make the law applicable to them.

However, the point raised by the Senator from Ohio does not go to the fundamental purpose of the bill. I may say further that some of the other suggestions which have been made do not go to the fundamental purpose of the bill. For example, the suggestion has been made that the Commission should not make a report to Congress of its opinion as to the compliance of an official of a State with the provisions of a certain title of the bill. I am perfectly willing, speaking for the committee, to agree to the omission of that provision. In fact, I have made a note to offer it as a committee amendment.

Mr. BURTON. Let me ask the Senator to what section he is referring, and with respect to which he intends to offer an amendment?

Mr. GREEN. The language on page 32, lines 9 to 11.

Mr. BURTON. Does the Senator expect to offer a committee amendment to strike out that language?

Mr. GREEN. Yes.

Mr. BURTON. Recurring for a moment to the language on page 20 to which I referred, let me inquire whether it is within the contemplation of the Senator that after the war is over such civilians, staying in the same places and carrying on the same duties, except that they will not relate to duties of war, but to duties of peace, at that time would return to their original status, and would vote by absentee ballot, although they were carrying on precisely the identical duties they were carrying on during the war.

Mr. GREEN. First it is necessary to provide for some arbitrary period following the cessation of hostilities. Usually 6 months is provided as the period during which affairs shall be wound up. Frequently a longer period than that is required for a return to standard conditions, after the war is over; but 6 months seems to be the usual period of time provided.

Mr. BURTON. If the officers or employees of the United States referred to were the only persons affected, the Senator would not be in favor of the bill, would he?

Mr. GREEN. I quite agree; but so long as we are providing for voting by the soldiers and sailors, who may be quartered in precisely the same places as those in which the civilians referred to are quartered, although one group is in wartime service and the other group is in peacetime service, it seems better, when machinery is provided for voting by the soldiers and sailors, to extend its operations to the civilians so situated. I do not think it would be proper to provide such machinery solely for such civilians; but since it would be provided for the members of the armed forces,

and would be available, it would seem to be better to permit such civilians to vote. However, I do not have any quarrel with Senators who disagree as to that point.

Mr. President, there are several committee amendments which I desire to offer. They may forestall other criticisms.

The first committee amendment is on page 18, lines 13 to 15. It is proposed to strike out the language—

The Commission is authorized to investigate any alleged neglect, misconduct, or irregularity in the administration of this act, except that.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, is the Senator offering an amendment?

Mr. GREEN. I was simply going to point out the committee amendments which we are prepared to offer.

Mr. WHITE. If we have reached the amendment stage, I think a quorum should be present.

Mr. GREEN. I am referring to the corrections or changes simply for the information of the Senate. For instance, there have been aimed at the bill some criticisms which perhaps would not have been aimed at it had the proposed amendments been previously stated.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, if the Senator has reached the point of offering amendments to the bill, I think a quorum should be present.

Mr. GREEN. Very well.

Mr. WHITE. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

|              |                 |               |
|--------------|-----------------|---------------|
| Alken        | Guffey          | Reynolds      |
| Andrews      | Gurney          | Robertson     |
| Austin       | Hatch           | Russell       |
| Bailey       | Hawkes          | Scruggam      |
| Ball         | Hayden          | Shipstead     |
| Barkley      | Holman          | Smith         |
| Bilbo        | Johnson, Calif. | Stewart       |
| Brewster     | Johnson, Colo.  | Taft          |
| Bridges      | Kilgore         | Thomas, Idaho |
| Brooks       | La Follette     | Thomas, Okla. |
| Buck         | Langer          | Thomas, Utah  |
| Burton       | Lucas           | Tobey         |
| Bushfield    | McClellan       | Truman        |
| Butler       | McFarland       | Tunnell       |
| Capper       | McKellar        | Tydings       |
| Caraway      | Maloney         | Vandenberg    |
| Clark, Idaho | Maybank         | Van Nuys      |
| Clark, Mo.   | Mead            | Wagner        |
| Connally     | Millikin        | Wallgren      |
| Danaher      | Moore           | Walsh         |
| Davis        | Murray          | Wheeler       |
| Downey       | Nye             | Wherry        |
| Eastland     | O'Daniel        | White         |
| Ellender     | Overton         | Wiley         |
| Ferguson     | Pepper          | Willis        |
| George       | Radcliffe       | Wilson        |
| Gillette     | Reed            |               |
| Green        | Revercomb       |               |

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Eighty-two Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

Mr. GREEN. Mr. President, there are a few committee amendments to the committee amendment which I should like to present for consideration of the Senate but not for action at this time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has already offered the first amendment to the committee amendment.

Mr. GREEN. Considering the fact that the quorum call intervened, per-

haps I should restate the first amendment for the benefit of Senators who have returned to the Chamber.

The first committee amendment is on page 18, line 13, after the word "administration", to strike out "The Commission is authorized to investigate any alleged neglect, misconduct, or irregularity in the administration of this act, except that when" and insert the word "If."

At the top of the following page, page 19, a slight change is made necessary by the amendment which I have just read. In line 3, after the word "irregularity", it is proposed to strike out "found pursuant to this section" and insert in lieu thereof the words "indicated by such reports."

On page 32—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Will the Senator from Rhode Island suspend for a moment, so that the Senate may act on the amendments as they are presented?

Mr. GREEN. Very well.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the first amendment offered by the Senator from Rhode Island to the committee amendment.

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. President, may the amendment be stated?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment to the amendment will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 18, line 13, in the committee amendment, after the word "administration", it is proposed to strike out "The Commission is authorized to investigate any alleged neglect, misconduct, or irregularity in the administration of this act, except that when" and insert "If."

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, as a result of this section, whether amended or not, is there any penalty which attaches if the Commission becomes cognizant of neglect, misconduct, or irregularity?

Mr. GREEN. In case there should be misconduct on the part of anyone in the armed forces, it would be referred to the Secretary of War or the Secretary of the Navy, as the case might be.

Or, if the reports sent in by the Governor or State officials show any irregularity, that situation is provided for at the top of page 19 of the bill.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GREEN. I yield.

Mr. LUCAS. I will say to the Senator from Michigan that I was probably responsible for the elimination of this language because in the way it reads, it gives power to the Commission, as I understand, "to investigate any alleged neglect, misconduct, or irregularity in the administration of this act." That would mean, I believe, or at least it would be possible to construe it to mean, that in the event there were complaint in some congressional district of an irregularity in certain voting methods in a particular county, or precinct, the Commission might have power under such complaint to make investigation.

I will say to the Senator candidly and frankly that I do not want the Commission to have any such power. I do not want any language in the bill which could be interpreted by the Commission as giving it the power to go into any community and make an investigation of that kind. If and when the reports come from the election officials of the precinct to the secretary of state, and on to the ballot commission as provided in the bill, and upon examination of those reports the ballot commission finds an irregularity or something which they should report to Congress, then they have the power to do so. But they should not go out into the field or send investigators to make an investigation relative to the conduct of an election.

As I read that language I was convinced that perhaps such an interpretation might be placed thereon. I insisted that the language be deleted and that was agreed to by the committee.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GREEN] for the committee to the committee amendment, on page 18, line 13.

The amendment to the committee amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will state the next amendment of the committee.

The CHIEF CLERK. In the committee amendment, on page 19, line 3, it is proposed to strike out the words "found pursuant to this section" and insert "indicated by such reports."

Mr. GREEN. That means the reports of the secretaries of state to the Commission.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment to the committee amendment.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island will state the third amendment which he proposes.

Mr. GREEN. The third amendment is on page 32, in line 9, of the committee amendment, after the word "certification" and the comma, to strike out "or if the United States War Ballot Commission certifies that there has not been substantial compliance by officials in such State with the provisions of this title." Objection was made to that language earlier on the floor.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Will the Senator read the sentence which would remain.

Mr. GREEN. It would read as follows:

If the executive of the State does not make such certification, the Senate and House of Representatives, acting separately, shall concurrently decide whether the noncompliance so affected the appointment of electors in the State as to require such appointment to be treated as invalid.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Why should subsection (c) of Section 114 of the bill be in the bill at all? Governors are not required to certify that there has been substantial compliance with other voting laws.

Mr. GREEN. No; but it is much more specific than that. The bill requires a definite report; not substantial, but definite. The language here is "substantial compliance." It would simply require the Governor to report that he had carried out substantially the provisions of the law in his State.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Then under the language which remains, if the Governor should not make such certification—and he might deliberately decline to make it, even for a capitious reason—that would immediately invalidate the entire electoral vote of the State, subject to the approval of the House and Senate voting separately. Is that correct?

Mr. GREEN. That is substantially correct.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I do not see any reason in the world for threatening the validity of the entire electoral vote of the State merely on the basis of the action or inaction of the Governor in respect to a certification. I do not believe there is any remote justification for attaching a penalty of that substance and implication to the mere failure—perhaps the deliberate failure—of the executive of the State to file a certificate.

Mr. STEWART. On what page is the language to which the Senator refers?

Mr. VANDENBERG. It is found on page 32.

Mr. GREEN. It is in connection with the other provisions which the Governor must certify.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I move to amend the amendment by striking out all of subsection (c) on page 32 of the bill, which embraces the language from line 2 to line 15, inclusive.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator repeat his motion?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I am moving to amend the amendment by striking out all the language of subsection (c) of the bill on page 32, being lines 3 to 15, both inclusive.

Mr. LUCAS. I do not know that I am not willing to go along with that amendment; but I should like to have the amendment go over until I can make a little further study of it.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Then let the committee's amendment go over also.

Mr. GREEN. Very well.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GREEN. I yield.

Mr. BRIDGES. Will the Senator say with respect to the amendment he is offering for the committee, how he would interpret the words "substantial compliance"? What does he mean by them?

Mr. GREEN. I think use is made of the word "substantial" here, as has been true elsewhere, because exact definition of "compliance" is impossible.

Mr. BRIDGES. I mean it would leave the whole interpretation of compliance with the act to a matter of judgment.

Mr. GREEN. Absolutely. That is always the case where the word "substantial" is used, and it is often used in legislation. It is because exact definition of the word "compliance" is impossible.

Mr. BRIDGES. Does not the Senator believe that where the future of the country and the Presidency of the United

States, and so on, are at stake, we ought to have something definite and specific rather than a word which is susceptible to indefinite interpretation?

Mr. GREEN. I may say that to a great extent I agree with the Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG]. The language is not essential to the bill at all. It would not secure to the soldiers the vote. I am perfectly willing to have the whole subsection stricken out.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Rhode Island withdraw his pending motion to amend?

Mr. GREEN. I do not withdraw my pending amendment to strike out the language beginning in line 9, on page 32, as follows:

Or if the United States War Ballot Commission certifies that there has been substantial compliance by officials in such State with the provisions of this title.

The amendment proposed by the Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG] was to amplify it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment of the Senator from Rhode Island has prior right to any other amendment. If he wishes to postpone action on the amendment, or withdraw it at this time, he may do so.

Mr. GREEN. It seems to me that whoever asked that the amendment go over should do the withdrawing.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I simply want to add that it is absolutely unthinkable to me that the election of a President and Vice President of the United States could be thrown into the Congress for determination simply upon the failure of one Governor to file a certificate that some law had been substantially executed in his own State. It would be beyond my comprehension that anything of that sort could be done.

Mr. GREEN. In answer to the Senator from Michigan, as he puts it, it does not seem to me to be the best solution. It was a solution of a contingency which might face the Congress. If we strike the whole thing out the contingency would still face the Congress without any solution for it. This may not possibly be the best solution, but, so far as I know, it is the best solution that has been offered. However, I am perfectly willing to have the whole subsection stricken out and then the contingency will be left without any solution.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GREEN. I yield.

Mr. HATCH. In the light of what the chairman of the committee has just said, I think the coauthor of the bill, the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LUCAS] now agrees, and I agree, that that provision of the bill does contain implications which should not exist in the bill. I see no reason why we should not strike it out at this time.

Mr. STEWART. Mr. President, what is the motion pending? Is it not that of the Senator from Michigan to strike out the entire subsection (c)? I understood the Senator from Michigan to make such a motion.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island offered a



perfecting amendment which has precedence. The Chair understands he has now asked for a postponement of that amendment.

Mr. GREEN. I beg pardon of the Chair; I have not asked for a postponement.

Mr. LUCAS. I asked that the amendment go over, but I will withdraw the request.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the perfecting amendment offered by the Senator from Rhode Island to subdivision (c) of section 114, proposed to be stricken out by the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Is not the question on the motion to strike out?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. No; the amendment offered by the Senator from Rhode Island has precedence as a perfecting amendment.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I ask unanimous consent that I may be permitted to offer the amendment to strike out all of subsection (c) so that we can clear up the subject now.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the unanimous-consent request of the Senator from Michigan? The Chair hears none.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I move to strike out subsection (c) on page 32.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment offered by the Senator from Michigan to the committee amendment.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. GREEN. I desire to offer another amendment. On page 37, I move to strike out the whole of line 7 and substitute therefor the words "the United States upon the demand of the Commission".

Mr. BRIDGES. To what page does the Senator refer?

Mr. GREEN. Page 37, line 7, to strike out the words after the word "the" at the beginning of the line, and substitute the words "United States upon the demand of the Commission". That is an amendment suggested this morning by the Secretary of the Treasury.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from Rhode Island to the committee amendment. [Putting the question.]

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GREEN. I shall be glad to yield in a moment. Before I yield the floor, I wish simply to state, as I stated before, that this bill is not perfect; it does not cure all the ills relating to the participation in elections by men who, by reason of their service, cannot vote at home. It is, however, an earnest attempt to improve the existing law.

The pending bill, Senate bill 1285, has the approval of the War Department, the Navy Department, the Maritime Commission, and the Association of Secretaries of State of the United States, as well as many other bodies and organizations.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield before he sits down?

Mr. GREEN. I yield.

Mr. BRIDGES. Was definite approval given the specific bill as reported by the Senator from Rhode Island or for the principles involved in the bill?

Mr. GREEN. The approval was more than of the principles, because different Government agencies have offered a whole series of amendments which have been accepted almost in their entirety and incorporated in the bill. They have helped to improve it. I think one of them is annexed to the report of the committee.

I may say that the National Association of Secretaries of State met recently in St. Louis. They had many objections to the original draft of the bill and they appointed their president to come to Washington to meet with the committee. He did so, and the bill, as amended, met with his approval.

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator a question at that point?

Mr. GREEN. I yield.

Mr. BUTLER. Does the Senator know anything about how the approval of the individual secretaries of state was obtained? Did a majority of them approve the bill or was it approved only by the president of the association?

Mr. GREEN. The president was directed to represent the association here. Naturally, in the give and take of phraseology, the amended phraseology was not submitted to all the secretaries of state, but the president of the association said it met with his approval.

Mr. BUTLER. The reason for my question was that I have had letters from individual members of the association objecting very strenuously to the whole measure.

Mr. GREEN. It undoubtedly imposes additional work on all the secretaries of state, but so does the existing law.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield on that point?

Mr. GREEN. I yield.

Mr. LUCAS. With respect to the inquiry made by the Senator from Nebraska, I should like to state to the Senator that I appeared at St. Louis, Mo., before the secretaries of state and delivered an address upon the subject matter of the pending bill. After that address, I appeared before the subcommittee of which Frederick Cook of Massachusetts was the chairman. Five members of that committee were present, acting as a subcommittee for the secretaries of state. They went through this bill carefully. I stayed with them for about 3 hours. They offered a number of constructive amendments to the bill. Mr. Cook came on from Massachusetts and testified for the secretaries of state as chairman of that subcommittee before the Committee on Privileges and Elections, and at that time made further suggestions. The secretaries of state, so far as the votes taken indicate, were for the principles of this bill. Mr. Cook even went so far as to recommend the bill as amended when he appeared before the committee. I might also add that he is a good Republican from the State of Massachusetts; he has

lived there all his life, and has held the office of secretary of state for 25 years.

There has been much hullabaloo about the form of ballot found in this bill. There will probably be more before we conclude the debate; there has been much "shadowboxing" about this bill from the beginning. So far as the Senator from Illinois is concerned, I want it understood now that I have only one thought in mind, and that is to give the soldier, wherever he may be, whether in this country, in Guadalcanal, in Africa, Italy, or elsewhere, an opportunity to vote. I want to do it in a constitutional way, and it can be done in a constitutional way, notwithstanding some of the opinions to the contrary. Under conscription we cannot take an American boy from his home in Illinois and send him to Africa without providing some means to enable him to vote. That simply cannot be done, and no Congress is going to do it, in my humble opinion. Before we get through with this measure, we will have a bill which will be satisfactory to the great majority. I have no pride in the authorship; I want to obtain the passage of a bill that will work. That has been my position from the day the measure was introduced. To say that we want any provision in this bill which will give the Democratic Party a better opportunity than the Republican Party or the Progressive Party or any other party is begging the question insofar as I am concerned.

I am surprised to find some people who claim to know something about this bill, but it is difficult to discover it from what they say. I am not referring to Members of the Senate; I am referring to people on the outside who are writing constantly about the measure. I will cite a sample of what has been going on throughout the country. Mr. Paul Mallon is a very prolific writer. I have great respect for him; he is a fine gentleman. Recently he wrote a column about the Green bill.

The headlines are as follows:

Senator GREEN angles for 10,000,000 votes.

That is the title of the article. Then he calls it a trick bill, and says:

All in very high-toned legal language and fair-sounding words is his trick bill. He would have the voting conducted by five commissioners to be appointed by the President, with senatorial confirmation, saying "at least two shall be Democrats and at least two shall be Republicans." This would simply allow the President to select three New Dealers and two Republicans of, say, the Winant school of New Deal thought, to conduct the election.

Just think of that, "to conduct the election." Mr. President, that goes to the American people as though the ballot commission were going to conduct the election from beginning to end, among our soldiers in this country and in other parts of the world where they are fighting. That is not the worst of it. Listen to this:

To help them in their work, the Green bill would destroy all State rules for qualifications of voters as to age, eligibility—

Just think of that! This writer is supposed to be a brilliant man. Why do men



do this? How can a student who reads the bill reach a conclusion that we are seeking to destroy the qualifications of voters of the States so far as age and eligibility are concerned? It is beyond me to understand. Truly I should like to know the real reason back of the distortion.

Furthermore, this writer talks about registration and poll tax. Of course we claim we have the right to pass such legislation under the Constitution and our wartime powers. However, the poll tax and registration questions were passed on in the act of 1942. We only seek to reenact something already passed by Congress.

I mentioned Frederick Cook a moment ago. He is as fine a gentleman as I ever met in my life. He is a Republican, too. I can find some Republicans about whom I can say pretty good things. We accepted the ballot that was presented by Mr. Cook, Secretary of State of Massachusetts, because it was a simplification of the ballot, and a better one than that prepared originally by the authors of the bill. I mention that in passing, because if there are any more amendments to be offered which will simplify the bill I am for them. I want to get the ballot to the soldier in the quickest possible time, a ballot which gives him the right of secrecy, gives him the right to vote as he chooses and to have the vote counted in the election precinct in which he resides. Anyone who understands this bill must conclude, if he be honest about it, that the ballot we propose is more secret than any absentee ballot that is sent out from the State at the present time. I believe I can explain that more fully when the proper time comes.

Question was raised this morning with respect to the States handling this matter. I wish it could be done through the States. Read the absentee ballot laws of most of the States of the United States as they exist at the present time, with respect to when a man can vote by absentee ballot. It would not be possible to get an absentee ballot from Illinois over to Hawaii and back in 30 days; it would not be possible to get it to England and back. We would be lucky if we could send it to Florida and have it returned in time. The application must be made within 30 days before the election; it must be sent to the county clerk and the county clerk has to send it to the soldier. Perhaps the soldier may be out in the field for 10 days, and then following that he will have to make his application for the ballot, and the ballot will have to come back to him. He will have to mark it and send it in, and it will have to be in the voting precinct some 3 days before the election. How can anyone say that an Illinois soldier serving outside his country can vote under such a provision?

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LUCAS. I yield to my colleague. The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island has the floor.

Mr. LUCAS. I will conclude in a moment.

All we are attempting to do by the bill is to give a man inside and outside of the country the right to vote. If he is in a position to vote for State and county candidates he can get an absentee ballot through local election officials. Upon such a ballot the names of all the Federal, State, and county candidates are printed. That is the way I hope the soldier, if he can, will cast his vote, because he will thus have an opportunity to vote for a greater number of candidates; but it cannot be done in all cases, and that is the basic reason for the bill.

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. President, will the Senator from Rhode Island yield?

Mr. GREEN. I promised to yield to the Senator from Colorado, but if the Senator from Illinois will not take long, I will yield to him first.

Mr. BROOKS. I do not think it will take long to say what I desire to say, and I very much appreciate the Senator yielding.

Mr. President, I desired to ask a question. I was much impressed with the statement of my colleague from Illinois that the boys from Illinois were being drafted but were not being given the right to vote. Last year Congress provided a method by which they could vote, but the pending bill goes much further. The bill provides the same opportunity to members of the merchant marine, who are not subject to military regulations, to whom we have never given the franking privilege, for whom we have never provided bonuses. There are no restrictions on them when they are in port. They are working for larger salaries now than they ever before received in their history, and their own leader, Mr. Joseph Curran, went out of the country to avoid the draft. Yet under the bill he would be given the right of absentee voting, the same as the soldiers.

I think it is time we stopped harnessing other people onto the soldiers. I agree that, since the Senate and the House voted to draft men to fight and face death, we should give them the right to vote; but that should not apply to all the other people we are harnessing to the soldiers. The bill provides for extending the privilege to members of the merchant marine and civilians.

I wish to call attention to paragraph (c), on page 20:

The following individuals, if otherwise eligible under subsection (b), shall be entitled to vote in accordance with the provisions of this title.

Then subsection 2 provides:

Civilians outside the United States who are attached to and serving with the armed forces or are officers or employees of the United States.

How many civilians have been sent overseas? Congress can hardly ascertain how many, or where the employees are being sent all over the world. They do not even have to be attached to the armed services. Are these men who are outside the country, who are not facing death, who are drawing increased pay, to be classified along with the soldiers, for whose benefit we are proposing to legislate?

Do not let anyone misinterpret what I say. I will ever be found fighting for the man who is at the front. I know his problems. I have been with him. I will defend him and fight for him. But those who are taking advantage of a measure such as the one now before the Senate to impose these other classes on the soldiers depart from the effort to provide free elections in the United States, and the provision should be deleted. When the chairman of the committee concludes, I shall offer an amendment to delete the provision.

Mr. DANAHER. Will the Senator from Rhode Island yield to me?

Mr. GREEN. I do not know how much longer I should postpone my promise to the Senator from Colorado to yield to him.

Mr. DANAHER. I wish to ask the Senator a question.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I wish to have the Senate proceed with the consideration of a conference report, but if the Senator's interruption will be brief, very well.

Mr. GREEN. I yield to the Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. DANAHER. I invite the Senator's attention to section 102, which appears on page 19, and to subclause (b), which starts in line 23, at the foot of the page.

As one reads subclause (b), and going over on to the top of page 20, one finds that the authors of the bill have included in lines 2, 3, and 4, on page 20, not only the electors of President and Vice President of the United States, but also the Members of the Congress, United States Senators and Representatives. Therefore I wish to ask the Senator from Rhode Island whether he will not break down section 102, subclause (b), by dividing it, so that one section shall apply solely to United States Senators and Representatives in Congress, and the other apply solely to electors of President and Vice President of the United States.

Mr. GREEN. With exactly the same provision as to each?

Mr. DANAHER. Yes.

Mr. GREEN. I have no objection to that.

Mr. DANAHER. I shall move an amendment to that effect, and submit the language to the Senate. May the amendment be stated?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. For the information of the Senate?

Mr. DANAHER. No; I should like to have it acted on. The amendment will be as follows:

In time of war, notwithstanding any provision of State law relating to the registration of qualified voters, every individual specified in subsection (c) who is absent from the place of his voting residence but otherwise eligible to register and qualified to vote in any election for electors of President and Vice President of the United States, shall be entitled to vote for such electors in accordance with the provisions of this title.

Mr. President, I move that language as a separate subsection for 102 (b).

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Connecticut.



# DEFERMENT OF FATHERS FROM THE DRAFT—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, I submit a conference report on Senate bill 763.

Mr. ANDREWS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I yield.

Mr. ANDREWS. This is a very important conference report. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

|              |                 |               |
|--------------|-----------------|---------------|
| Aiken        | Guffey          | Reynolds      |
| Andrews      | Gurney          | Robertson     |
| Austin       | Hatch           | Russell       |
| Bailey       | Hawkes          | Scrugham      |
| Ball         | Hayden          | Shipstead     |
| Barkley      | Holman          | Smith         |
| Bilbo        | Johnson, Calif. | Stewart       |
| Brewster     | Johnson, Colo.  | Taft          |
| Bridges      | Kilgore         | Thomas, Idaho |
| Brooks       | La Follette     | Thomas, Okla. |
| Buck         | Langer          | Thomas, Utah  |
| Burton       | Lucas           | Tobey         |
| Bushfield    | McClellan       | Truman        |
| Butler       | McFarland       | Tunnell       |
| Capper       | McKellar        | Tydings       |
| Caraway      | Maloney         | Vandenberg    |
| Clark, Idaho | Maybank         | Van Nuys      |
| Clark, Mo.   | Mead            | Wagner        |
| Connally     | Millikin        | Wallgren      |
| Danaher      | Moore           | Walsh         |
| Davis        | Murray          | Wheeler       |
| Downey       | Nye             | Wherry        |
| Eastland     | O'Daniel        | White         |
| Ellender     | Overton         | Wiley         |
| Ferguson     | Pepper          | Willis        |
| George       | Radcliffe       | Wilson        |
| Gillette     | Reed            |               |
| Green        | Revercomb       |               |

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. STEWART in the chair). Eighty-two Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present.

The report will be read.

The report was read as follows:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 763) amending the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, as amended, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows: That the Senate recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the House and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by the House amendment insert the following:

"That section 5 of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, as amended, is hereby amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsections:

"(1) In the case of any registrant whose principal place of employment is located outside the appeal board area in which the local board having jurisdiction over the registrant is located, any occupational deferment under subsection (c) (2) or subsection (e) of this section existing at the date of enactment of this subsection shall, within thirty days after such date, and any such occupational deferment made after the date of enactment of this subsection shall within ten days after such deferment is made, be submitted for review and decision to the selective service appeal board having jurisdiction over the area in which is located the principal place of employment of the registrant. Such decision of the appeal board shall be final unless modified or changed by the President, and such decision shall be made public. The President, upon appeal or upon his own motion, shall

have power to determine all claims or questions with respect to inclusion for, or exemption or deferment from, training and service under this Act; and the determination of the President shall be final.

"(m) Notwithstanding the provisions of section 4 (b), under such rules and regulations as the President may prescribe, on the basis of the best inventory information available to him at the time of allocating calls, without affecting the usual regular and orderly flow of the Nation's manpower into the armed forces as required for service therein, and in accordance with the requisitions of the land and naval forces and with the other provisions of this Act, registrants shall, on a Nation-wide basis within the Nation and a State-wide basis within each State, be ordered to report to induction stations in such a manner that registrants, regardless of their occupations or the activities in which they may be engaged, who were married prior to December 8, 1941, who have maintained a bona fide family relationship with their families since that date and who have a child or children under eighteen years of age, will be inducted after the induction of other registrants not deferred, exempted, relieved from liability, or postponed from induction under this Act or the rules and regulations prescribed thereunder who are available for induction and are acceptable to the land and naval forces. The term "child" as used in this section means a legitimate child born prior to September 15, 1942, a stepchild, adopted child, foster child, or a person who is in the relationship of child to the registrant, who became such prior to December 8, 1941, who is less than eighteen years of age, or who by reason of mental or physical defects is incapable of self-support, who is unmarried, and with whom the registrant has maintained a bona fide family relationship in their home since December 7, 1941, or since the date of birth if such date of birth is later than December 7, 1941: *Provided*, That no individuals shall be called for induction, ordered to report to induction stations, or be inducted because of their occupations, or by occupational groups, or by groups in any plant or institutions, except pursuant to a requisition by the land or naval forces for persons in needed medical professional and specialist categories."

"Sec. 2. (a) Section 10 (a) (2) of such Act, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"(2) to create and establish a Selective Service System, and shall provide for the classification of registrants and of persons who volunteer for induction under this Act on the basis of availability for training and service, and shall establish within the Selective Service System civilian local boards, civilian appeal boards, and such other agencies, including agencies of appeal, as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act. There shall be created one or more local boards in each county or political subdivision corresponding thereto of each State, Territory, and the District of Columbia. Each local board shall consist of three or more members to be appointed by the President, from recommendations made by the respective Governors or comparable executive officials. No member of any such local board shall be a member of the land or naval forces of the United States, but each member of any such local board shall be a civilian who is a citizen of the United States residing in the county or political subdivision corresponding thereto in which such local board has jurisdiction under rules and regulations prescribed by the President. Such local boards, under rules and regulations prescribed by the President, shall have power within their respective jurisdictions to hear and determine, subject to the right of appeal to the appeal boards herein authorized all questions or claims with respect to in-

clusion for, or exemption or deferment from, training and service under this Act of all individuals within the jurisdiction of such local boards. The decisions of such local boards shall be final except where an appeal is authorized and is taken in accordance with such rules and regulations as the President may prescribe. Appeal boards within the Selective Service System shall be composed of civilians who are citizens of the United States. The decision of such appeal boards shall be final in cases before them on appeal unless modified or changed by the President as provided in the last sentence of section 5 (1) of this Act. No person who is an officer, member, agent, or employee of the Selective Service System, or of any such local or appeal board or other agency, shall be excepted from registration, or deferred from training and service, as provided for in this Act, by reason of his status as such officer, member, agent, or employee."

"(b) Section 10 (a) (3) of such Act, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"(3) to appoint, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and fix the compensation of at a rate not in excess of \$10,000 per annum, a Director of Selective Service who shall be directly responsible to him and to appoint and fix the compensation of such other officers, agents, and employees as he may deem necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act: *Provided*, That any officer on the active or retired list of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, or Coast Guard, or of any reserve component thereof or any officer or employee of any department or agency of the United States who may be assigned or detailed to any office or position to carry out the provisions of this Act (except to offices or positions on local boards or appeal boards established or created pursuant to section 10 (a) (2)) may serve in and perform the functions of such office or position without loss of or prejudice to his status as such officer in the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, or Coast Guard or reserve component thereof, or as such officer or employee in any department or agency of the United States: *Provided further*, That any person so appointed, assigned, or detailed to a position the compensation in respect of which is at a rate in excess of \$5,000 per annum shall be appointed, assigned, or detailed by and with the advice and consent of the Senate: *Provided further*, That the President may appoint necessary clerical and stenographic employees for local boards and fix their compensation without regard to the Classification Act of 1923, as amended:

"Sec. 3. Section 10 (b) of such Act, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"(b) The President is authorized to delegate to the Director of Selective Service only, any authority vested in him under this Act (except section 9). The Director of Selective Service may delegate and provide for the delegation of any authority so delegated to him by the President and any other authority vested in him under this Act, to such officers, agents, or persons as he may designate or appoint for such purpose or as may be designated or appointed for such purpose pursuant to such rules and regulations as he may prescribe."

"Sec. 4. Section 10 of such Act, as amended, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(e) In order to assist in the determination of whether or not men should be deferred from training and service because they are physically, mentally, or morally deficient or defective, and to delay as long as possible the induction of men living with their families, the President is authorized and directed forthwith to appoint a commission of five qualified physicians, of whom one only shall be an Army officer and one only a Navy officer, and the three remaining members shall be qualified civilian physicians not employed by

the Federal Government, who shall examine the physical, mental, and moral qualification requirements for admission to the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps, and recommend to the President any changes therein which they believe can be made without impairing the efficiency of the armed services. The commission shall especially consider the establishment of special standards for men who will be inducted only for limited service. The Director of Selective Service shall cause to be reexamined those men, including those previously discharged from the armed services because of physical disability, who may qualify under any new standards established."

"SEC. 5. Any registrant within the categories herein defined when it appears that his induction will shortly occur shall, upon request, be ordered by his local board in accordance with schedules authorized by the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, and the Director of Selective Service, to any regularly established induction station for a preinduction physical examination, subject to reexaminations."

"The commanding officer of such induction station where such physical examination is conducted under this provision shall issue to the registrant a certificate showing his physical fitness or lack thereof, and this examination shall be accepted by the local board, subject to periodic reexamination. Those registrants who are classified as I-A at the time of such physical examination and who are found physically qualified for military service as a result thereof, shall remain so classified and report for induction in regular order."

"SEC. 6. The Director of Selective Service shall obtain full and complete information from the various agencies, departments, and branches of the Federal Government, and from other sources, concerning requests for deferment, deferments, exemptions, rejections, discharges, inductions, enlistments, replacement schedules, and other matters with respect to registrants, whether or not they are members of the armed forces, or whether or not they are Government or private employees; and he shall report that information, together with the manner in which the provisions of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, as amended, are being administered, to the Senate and House Committees on Military Affairs monthly or at such intervals as the committees may designate from time to time."

"SEC. 7. Except as provided in this Act, all laws and parts of laws in conflict with the provisions of this Act are hereby suspended to the extent of such conflict for the period in which this Act shall be in force."

And the House agrees to the same.

ROBT. R. REYNOLDS,  
EDWIN C. JOHNSON,  
LISTER HILL,  
WARREN R. AUSTIN,  
STYLES BRIDGES,  
CHAN GURNEY,

*Managers on the part of the Senate.*

ANDREW J. MAY,  
EWING THOMASON,  
PAUL J. KILDAY,  
LESLIE C. ARENDS,  
CHAS. H. ELSTON,  
FOREST A. HARNES,

*Managers on the part of the House.*

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the report.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Colorado?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the report.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, Senate bill 763 had a rather

peculiar legislative course. It was introduced by the Senator from Montana [Mr. WHEELER] as a bill to prevent the drafting of fathers. It went to the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, was reported by that committee and placed on the calendar, came before the Senate, and while being considered on the floor of the Senate it was completely changed. The provisions of the original Wheeler bill were almost completely stricken out; and some of the provisions of the Bailey amendment, the Clark amendment, the Bushfield amendment, and the Taft amendment were worked into the bill, and it was passed in that form. The Senator from Montana [Mr. WHEELER] also added an important amendment to the bill.

Then the bill went to the House of Representatives. The House completely changed it. The bill was sent to conference, and the conferees agreed upon a bill substantially in the language and form of the House bill.

So the Senate did not retain the language of the original Wheeler bill or of the Bailey amendment, the Clark amendment, or the Wheeler amendment. The bill does contain the language of the Bushfield amendment, changed in some degree, and at the present time it contains some of the important features of the Taft and Clark amendments.

I desire very briefly to state what the bill would do and what it would not do. The bill would not prohibit the drafting of fathers nor would it defer their drafting either to January 1 or for any other definite period. The bill might possibly delay 2 or 3 months the drafting of some fathers, since the registrants would be inducted on a Nation-wide basis and State-wide basis, with pre-Pearl Harbor fathers inducted last. That is the only way in which the bill would affect fathers. That is to say, a pre-Pearl Harbor father could not be inducted by a local board so long as there remained in the State or in the Nation men who were not pre-Pearl Harbor fathers and who had not been inducted.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. EASTLAND in the chair). Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Vermont?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I yield.

Mr. AUSTIN. I think this is a good place to bring out what I remember to be a fact, which is that a division of the group of fathers which existed under the orders of the Selective Service System was eliminated, namely, a category of fathers having regard to occupational status. One of the important changes which the bill would make in existing law, as it would apply through the Selective Service System, would be to delete exemptions based on the status of occupation, as set forth in the letter of instructions of the Director of the Selective Service System, dated some time in September last.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Yes, Mr. President. However, I do not know whether that was a provision of law; it was a provision of policy which was

decided upon by the War Manpower Commission.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I yield.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. Am I to understand from the explanation the Senator has very ably made of the first point that pre-Pearl Harbor fathers could not be drafted in a State so long as non-fathers subject to the draft were available?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. That is my understanding of the conference report.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. Does it go further, and say that pre-Pearl Harbor fathers cannot be drafted by any draft board in the country so long as there are in the country nonfathers eligible for draft?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. It would put pre-Pearl Harbor fathers last on the list on a Nation-wide basis.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. On a Nation-wide basis?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Yes.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. I thank the Senator.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I yield.

Mr. AUSTIN. There is in the report a flexibility provision affecting this point. It is to the effect that the rule shall not be an arbitrary one such as would prevent the regular and systematic flow of inductees into the armed services.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Yes. I should like to read the language of the escape clause, as it is considered. It appears beginning at the bottom of the first page of the conference report in the language in italics, and reads as follows:

On the basis of the best inventory information available to him at the time of allocating calls, without affecting the usual regular and orderly flow of the Nation's manpower into the armed forces as required for service therein, and in accordance with the requisitions of the land and naval forces and with the other provisions of this act, registrants shall, on a Nation-wide basis within the Nation and a State-wide basis within each State, be ordered to report to induction stations in such a manner that registrants, regardless of their occupations or the activities in which they may be engaged, who were married prior to December 8, 1941, who have maintained a bona fide family relationship with their families since that date and who have a child or children under 18 years of age, will be inducted after the induction of other registrants not deferred, exempted, relieved from liability, or postponed from induction under this act or the rules and regulations prescribed thereunder who are available for induction and are acceptable to the land and naval forces.

Of course, outside that exception, the statement I previously made is correct.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. How could there be a Nation-wide basis and at the same time a State-wide basis? In other words, if the Senator's explanation is correct—that no pre-Pearl Harbor fathers could be drawn into the service anywhere in



the Nation until the supply of all others was exhausted—what good would be served by a provision that within any State pre-Pearl Harbor fathers could not be drawn into the service until the supply of other persons available in that State had been exhausted? It seems to me the supply of nonfathers would have to be exhausted in all the other States before pre-Pearl Harbor fathers could be drawn into the service.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I think that observation is correct, except that at the present time induction is on a local basis, and the desire is to have it clarified that henceforth it would be on a State basis and a national basis rather than on a local basis.

Mr. BARKLEY. I think the two terms are utterly contradictory. I do not think there can be two bases.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. First, Mr. President, let me say that the House inserted that provision. I myself think it is somewhat contradictory, but the provision does clarify the matter to a certain extent.

Now I yield to the Senator from Vermont.

Mr. AUSTIN. My understanding of the reason for the two bases is that the purpose was not to have colliding bases, but to make the law feasible, if possible. A State administration of the Selective Service System has certain information with respect to the status and inventories of manpower in the State which is not available to the national headquarters of the Selective Service at the time when a man comes up for induction in California, let us assume.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. It is a duplication, instead of being contradictory.

Mr. AUSTIN. That is all; it is a duplication, not a contradiction.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, let us see if it is duplication. Suppose in Vermont and in Kentucky the supply of eligible men had been exhausted except the supply of pre-Pearl Harbor fathers, but suppose that in California, in Illinois, and in Massachusetts the supplies of nonfathers had not been exhausted, and suppose that the State boards or the local boards attempted to induct men in Kentucky and Vermont, where the supply of nonfathers had been exhausted, but the point was made that, under the act, the supply of nonfathers had not been exhausted as a Nation-wide proposition. Who would decide which one of the provisions would take precedence over the other?

Mr. AUSTIN. If the Senator were to assume that the transaction occurred in the State of Vermont, and that anyone was interested in raising the point that there were eligible persons in the categories preceding the father class, in Vermont, a judgment could be rendered at once in the State of Vermont on a State-wide basis. But suppose the objection to induction is that somewhere in the Nation there are men in the categories preceding the father class. That would immediately impose a great burden upon

the Government and upon the inductee who is trying to establish that fact. It is for feasibility in the operation that both bases are made operative, parallel, and working together. Even that parallel method presents difficulties, both to the Government and to the candidate. That is why the flexible clause was inserted, on the basis of the inventories as they are. Let me read it. I cannot remember all the details. The language is:

On the basis of the best inventory information available to him at the time of allocating calls.

That language is found at the bottom of page 1 of the conference report.

Mr. BARKLEY. The language "to him" means to the President.

Mr. AUSTIN. Yes; but the President, of course, operates through the Director General.

Mr. BARKLEY. The Director General of the Selective Service knows, from the records of the Selective Service, whether in any State there are eligibles above the pre-Pearl Harbor class. He knows whether they have been exhausted in any State.

Mr. AUSTIN. Does he? That is the question.

Mr. BARKLEY. I should think so, if the records are accurate.

Mr. AUSTIN. There will always be that "if," for this reason: Every day men are becoming of eligible age. We can assume that the inventories in the office of the Director cannot be changed every day, and that, therefore, the law must be made flexible enough so that it can operate.

Mr. BARKLEY. I appreciate the desire for flexibility. I am wondering whether it is realized. It may not make any particular difference; the point which I have raised may be purely technical; but it seems to me that there cannot be simultaneously a Nation-wide basis and a State-wide basis in operation. It is either State-wide or Nation-wide. It cannot be both.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. That would perhaps be true if we had not already started with the local board. The local board was the original unit. In order to get away from that, the language about the State was inserted, which makes a larger unit with which to start. This is a little easier way of making that point clear.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I have said all I wish to say about it. I am still of the same opinion as I was originally.

Mr. AUSTIN and Mr. REVERCOMB addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Colorado yield, and if so, to whom?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I yield first to the Senator from Vermont.

Mr. AUSTIN. There is no pride of authorship in this language, because Members of the Senate are not the authors of it. In any event, there is no pride of authorship which would bind the Senator from Colorado or myself with respect to this matter. We have learned in our experience that with 96 Members of the Senate, suggestions which would

improve legislation are often made on the floor of the Senate. For my part I would welcome any suggestion which the Senator from Kentucky might wish to make.

Mr. BARKLEY. There is nothing I can do about it. We must vote the conference report up or down.

Mr. AUSTIN. If the point is sufficiently important, we can vote it down.

Mr. BARKLEY. I may vote that way; but I doubt if I shall be in the majority if I do so.

Mr. REVERCOMB. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I yield.

Mr. REVERCOMB. The majority leader has asked a very practical question. I should like to have a direct answer to that question. I do not think the question has as yet been fully answered, as to what would happen if there were no persons eligible for draft in a State except pre-Pearl Harbor fathers, and there were men other than pre-Pearl Harbor fathers eligible in another State. I should like to have that question answered.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I appreciate the Senator's statement. I admit that I did not get a categorical answer to my inquiry. It may be that that is a part of the flexibility of this conference report. [Laughter.]

I venture to express the viewpoint that if the induction is to be on a Nation-wide basis, if in any one State there are still eligible men who are not pre-Pearl Harbor fathers, a serious question may arise in all the other States where that category has been exhausted, as to whether pre-Pearl Harbor fathers can be called until the other eligibles have been exhausted in all the other States. I have very grave doubt about it, if the language means anything at all. If it does not mean anything, it ought not to be in the bill.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I yield.

Mr. AUSTIN. Which of the two provisions would the Senator from Kentucky delete?

Mr. BARKLEY. If I had my way about it, I would delete the Nation-wide part of it, and put it on a State-wide basis.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I yield to the Senator from Ohio.

Mr. TAFT. I am very strong for exactly the thing which the Senator from Kentucky is opposing. I think it ought to be on a Nation-wide basis. If, for example, there are 100,000 pre-Pearl Harbor fathers in 20 States, and 100,000 men are needed next month, I think the 100,000 pre-Pearl Harbor fathers ought to be called first, and all the other States ought to be exempt from further call during that month. I think that is what this report provides. That is what was intended by the Senate bill, but the language was somewhat doubtful. This seems to be much clearer. I see no reason why it should not operate on a Nation-wide basis.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, I agree with the Senator from Ohio as to the desirability of making it Nation-wide. The Senator will notice that the language is:

on a Nation-wide basis within the Nation and a State-wide basis within each State.

Mr. TAFT. We may find that a State has pre-Pearl Harbor fathers in one section of the State, but not in the other sections; but that would not nullify the Nation-wide basis in any way.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. No.

Mr. BARKLEY. I prefer the State-wide basis to the Nation-wide basis, but that is a mere personal preference. If it is to be on a Nation-wide basis, so that we cannot call into the service men who are pre-Pearl Harbor fathers so long as there are any non pre-Pearl Harbor fathers anywhere in the United States, it certainly, in my judgment, eliminates the State-wide basis feature of this report.

Mr. TAFT. I do not think it is in any way inconsistent with the State-wide basis. The State-wide basis operates after we decide as between various sections of the State; but I do not see why it cannot be on both a Nation-wide and a State-wide basis.

Mr. BARKLEY. The State-wide basis would operate after we had determined that, on a Nation-wide basis, every one had been called except pre-Pearl Harbor fathers.

Mr. REVERCOMB. Mr. President, as I understood the reply by the able Senator from Colorado to the first question I asked, it is the understanding of the Senator from Colorado, who is submitting the report, that it is upon a Nation-wide basis.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. That is correct, with the one exception as to the practicability of working out the machinery for it. That provision is found at the bottom of page 1.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question in regard to another matter, unless he wishes to pursue this question further?

Mr. AUSTIN rose.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I do not wish to pursue it further. I believe the Senator from Vermont [Mr. AUSTIN] has a point to make.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, I wish I could clear up the question. I think the difficulty is to state it. As I understand, when the armed forces call for a certain number to be inducted—we will assume 300,000—the Selective Service System in Washington allots the call to the States. As I understand, the allotment is made to States which, according to the inventories, have candidates who are ahead of the father class. Thus we see it is necessary to give consideration to both the State group and the National group. That is what makes it possible to operate, and to obtain the quota for the Army. As I understand, if we did not make the allotment on both bases we might have a failure in inducting men into the Army; but on the basis which is written into the conference report, in most cases the necessary number of inductees can be obtained out of the two

previous categories before entering the third category.

In fact, I think that as the future unfolds the operation of this proposal there will be a sufficient number of men becoming eligible, and a sufficient number of men ahead of the father class being taken on a Nation-wide basis to answer the requirements of the armed forces. I hope that will be true. But it would not be possible to administer the act if we should fix it arbitrarily on either a State or National basis.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I desire to ask the Senator about another provision, if he is ready to take it up.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I have completed this part. I see the Senator from Iowa on his feet, and the Senator from West Virginia has asked a question of the Senator from South Dakota on this point. Let us first clear that up.

Mr. REVERCOMB. Mr. President, my question relates to the point under discussion. I wish to ask a question of the Senator from Vermont. I understand that when the Director makes a call for men through the Selective Service he contemplates the whole Nation, and if he finds that in some States all eligible men, excepting fathers, have been taken, and in other States there are eligible men who are nonfathers, he makes his call first from those States where there are nonfathers.

Mr. AUSTIN. That is correct.

Mr. REVERCOMB. I thank the Senator.

Mr. AUSTIN. Under the existing law, the Director might divide the total number of 300,000 necessary for a particular call into equal parts, or into parts based on population, or something of that kind. Under this proposal he would not do that. He would take into account what his inventories showed with respect to the number of available men outside the father class, and whereas he might in one case have called for 8,000 men from the State of Vermont, he would under this case, if they were short of men who were not fathers, make that a much smaller number in order to adapt his call to the condition in the State. That is why we have made available to him both the Nation-wide basis and the State-wide basis.

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I yield.

Mr. GURNEY. I think the Record should show at this point that representatives of the Selective Service organization told the conferees that they understood this language and that they could operate under it. I think that ought to be shown in the Record.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Yes; that was a part of the evidence which we had before us, and it helped to bring us to an agreement.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I think the Senator from Kentucky desires to raise a point.

Mr. WHEELER. I wanted merely to add something on the particular question being discussed.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I yield to the Senator from Montana.

Mr. WHEELER. When the question was first before the Senate, I pointed out what was happening in some of the States before we got into the war, and even before the draft law went into effect. There were a great many young men who left certain States and went into other States. They took employment in war industries and became, temporarily, at least, citizens of the State in which they were being employed. The older men, the married men with families, did not do that, but the younger men did. As a consequence, there are in some of the States many young single men, or even married men without children, whereas other States were completely denuded of such men.

I was glad to have the examination made by the Senator from Colorado, as well as the Senator from Vermont, with reference to the operation of the proposed act, because if it is operated on the basis we have heard described I think it will mean a much fairer operation of the Selective Service than there has been in the past.

But even within the last month or two I have received numerous letters from men and women, particularly women, stating that they had three, five, and as many as nine children, and that their husbands had been taken into the Army under the selective service. I think we have all read such statements in the newspapers. It seems to me that that is a perfectly preposterous action when there are nonfathers and single men in the country who are not being taken.

I do not have present with me, but I have received a letter from an Army officer who is in Canada and has been employed on the Alaskan Highway, who has said that there are any number of single men, nonfathers, working there—in the Government service, I assume—who have not been called, and he said he was very much opposed to it. He had been a member of a selective service board, but had resigned because of disagreement with the policy which had been adopted by the Selective Service.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I thank the Senator from Montana, and I am sure his conclusions will prove to be accurate unless the administrative agencies in charge of the operation of the proposed legislation hide too much behind the escape clause which has been put in the bill, and keep away from anything that is practical in the operation of the law.

Mr. WHEELER. Because of the experiences in the past, I am somewhat fearful of the escape clause. I am afraid it will be interpreted by the executive branch as giving them power to do whatever they please regardless of the intent of Congress, or regardless of what has been written into the bill in conference.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Certainly any such action would be contrary to the intent of both Houses of Congress, if I understand the position of the House of Representatives on the matter.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I desire to make merely one observation on



that point. I do not care to pursue it, but when we do anything on a Nation-wide basis we amalgamate the whole population of the United States and forget State lines. We take our total population and the total number of people available as if there were no boundaries at all by which to divide the Nation into its various geographical sectors. The difficulty I have is in understanding how simultaneously we can amalgamate the whole population of the country for the purpose of drawing men into the service and at the same time knock it down into 48 different compartments, and say that we are going to do both at the same time. But I hope it will be handled in the best possible way.

I wish to inquire of the Senator regarding section 3 (b), which reads as follows:

(b) The President is authorized to delegate to the Director of Selective Service only, any authority vested in him under this act (except sec. 9).

What is section 9?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Section 9 deals with plant seizure, and, of course, this would not apply to that.

Mr. BARKLEY. No. The section continues as follows:

The Director of Selective Service may delegate and provide for the delegation of any authority so delegated to him by the President and any other authority vested in him under this act, to such officers, agents, or persons as he may designate or appoint for such purpose or as may be designated or appointed for such purpose pursuant to such rules and regulations as he may prescribe.

I inquire of the Senator regarding the power of Congress to limit the President by an act of this kind in determining whom he shall designate to enforce a law the execution of which is primarily placed on his shoulders. Under the language which I have read the President would not be able to designate anyone else or delegate anyone else to do this except the Director of Selective Service.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Yes; he would either have to do it himself, or if he delegated anyone else to do it, it would have to be under the one mentioned.

Mr. BARKLEY. Yes; himself or the Director of Selective Service. I presume that under this language the Director of Selective Service can delegate to others such authority as has been delegated to him by the President. Is that correct?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I presume so.

Mr. BARKLEY. Could the Director of Selective Service delegate any of his authority to the Chairman of the War Manpower Commission, who is unhorsed by this language? I presume that the object of the language is to take all power away from the Chairman of the War Manpower Commission. There could be no other use for the language unless that was intended, and I am wondering if the Director of Selective Service himself, under his power of delegation, could delegate any of this authority to the Chairman of the War Manpower Commission.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. My understanding of this bill is that the Director of Selective Service could transfer it

to the War Manpower Commission if he wanted to do so.

Mr. BARKLEY. In other words, notwithstanding the fact that under the President's order of consolidation heretofore made, the Director of Selective Service is subordinate to the Chairman of the War Manpower Commission and to the War Manpower Commission, the subordinate could, under the terms of this language, delegate some of his powers to his superior who has no authority to act under the President's orders and to whom the President himself could not delegate the same authority.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. From a reading of the text I believe that could be done.

Mr. BARKLEY. That, it appears to me, is an anomaly in legislation.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Because this is a legal question, I should like to hear from the Senator from Vermont, who I see is on his feet.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, when the Congress enacted the Selective Training and Service Act it vested certain powers in a Selective Service System with a Director at its head. That System was made the operating agency of the law by authority of Congress. It was not the President's organization; it was a ministerial organization created by Congress to carry out the will of the people so far as Congress expressed it.

What happened after that? We passed the First War Powers Act, vesting in the President tremendous powers, unprecedented so far as my examination of law goes, and under that authority the President took a vast amount of the operating powers which the Congress had delegated in the law out of the hands of the Director and out of the Selective Service System and gave it all to the Chairman of the War Manpower Commission. Then we had a hydra-headed operating agency which created the greatest confusion all over this country. If there is any one place where I think Congress should go to work to remedy confusion, it is in the administration of the Selective Training and Service Act; and there is where we come to a difference of opinion. Some legislators think that it is wiser to have the Chairman of the War Manpower Commission operating this act than it is to have the Director of the Selective Service System operating it, while others adhere to the original proposition and belief of Congress that the Director of the Selective Service System should operate this system, according to law. So, when the issue arose in the conference, there is where we stood divided on that point.

It is not a question whether we have authority or not. Of course we have authority. We are the authors of the act; we created whatever powers are to be exercised under it; and it is not subject to the charge that we are trenching upon the appointive power of the President. It is the restoration by an act of legislation to the Congress of the power to legislate with respect to this particular subject which is so close to the hearts of the people. That is what this is.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, if the Senator will permit me, I should like to

ask him a question. I have great respect for his legal ability, as he knows. Of course, when we passed the original Selective Service Act we were not at war. I am not certain that that makes any difference because the Constitution establishes the President as the Commander in Chief of the Army and the Navy whether we are at war or at peace; he is continuously the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy. But what effect will this language limiting him to the appointment of a single person under his authority have upon his constitutional authority as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy?

Mr. AUSTIN. It will have no effect at all.

Mr. President, this is an act of just as high degree of authority as the War Manpower Commission Act. It is up to the Congress to say whether such powers shall be created or shall not be created and who shall operate them. The Congress chose to place the execution of the law in the hands of a civilian agency, namely, the Selective Service System, with a director at its head, who came out of the body of civilians. Today he wears a uniform, but he is, indeed, a civilian; he was not chosen from the Army. The constitutional authority of the President to appoint is not at all involved. For that I stand just as long as I can see clearly that that question is at stake, and, so far as I am conscious of it, I will not undertake to derogate that power; but when it comes to a question such as this, of legislative policy, I say that if the Congress believes in its original plan of a democratic form of operating agency raised from the people themselves, then we have done exactly what we ought to do in the conference report.

Do not forget, Mr. President, that we inserted the word "only"; we provided that the President, if he did not exercise these powers, should delegate them to the Director of the Selective Service System "only." We discussed that fully, so that there is no disagreement about what the word means to us. We meant to restore this authority to the place where Congress put it originally. Have no doubt, Mr. President, about it whatever. Probably we would not have used the word "only" if the War Manpower Act had not been used to put the Chairman of the War Manpower Commission in command of this operating agency.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. AUSTIN. I yield, if I have the floor.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. The Senator spoke a moment ago about a division in the conference. I should like to ask the Senator if it is not a fact that the designation—not exactly in the language that is in the conference report—of the Director of the Selective Service to perform this function was put into the Senate bill by unanimous vote of the Senate, and in the House bill by a substantially unanimous vote?

Mr. AUSTIN. Yes, indeed.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. So that when the conferees met they had before them a proposition to which both the



Senate and the House had agreed to practically unanimously?

Mr. AUSTIN. I thank the Senator from Missouri for reminding me of that.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, just a moment.

Mr. AUSTIN. I insist that we had no moral right, even though the House struck out all after the enacting clause and opened the door, theoretically, to do anything except what we did; morally, I felt we should stand by what both Houses had agreed on.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, I cannot agree with the Senator from Vermont in his concurrence with the statement of the Senator from Missouri, because the Senate never did act upon it. The Senate bill had no language at all on the delegation of authority to the Director of the Selective Service. We did have a clause with respect to appeals. The Director of Selective Service was given final authority in appeal cases, but this goes far beyond anything that was in the Senate bill. It delegates all power and all authority either to the Director of the Selective Service or to be retained by the President.

The Senator from Kentucky asked a constitutional question. I shall not try to answer it, but the Constitution in article I, section 8, reads that—

The Congress shall have power . . . to raise and support armies.

I presume that the Selective Service is operating under that clause of the Constitution, and that is one of the congressional prerogatives and powers and authorities under the Constitution.

I noticed a few moments ago, when another bill was being discussed, the so-called soldiers' vote bill, the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GREEN] answered that Congress had no power to take executive powers away from the President, or to limit his executive powers. We do it right along. We delegate powers to the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture; we give them executive authority and executive powers; but I doubt whether we would be able to find at any place in any other Federal statute the word "only," where we tell the President he has power, and if he is going to delegate it, he must delegate it "only," and then proceed to let the agency to which he delegates the power delegate it further as it sees fit, with a free hand and without limitation. I doubt whether there can be found any precedent of that kind.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. McFARLAND in the chair). Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Vermont?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I yield.

Mr. AUSTIN. I merely desire to keep the RECORD straight about the language before the conference which had been agreed on by both the House and the Senate. I read from page 8, beginning at line 9, of the text that came to the conferees:

The President is authorized and directed—

The words "and directed" are in italics, representing an amendment suggested by the House—

to delegate to the Director of Selective Service all authority vested in him under this act.

Every bit of that, excepting the additional word—

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. AUSTIN. Let me finish the sentence.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. The Senator said "all authority." It is "any authority."

Mr. AUSTIN. Let me finish my sentence. The Senator has interrupted the sentence that was going to indicate what was changed.

Mr. President, what the House did to the Senate language was to insert the words in italics, "and directed," and to strike out the word "any" and insert the word "all." That is what the House did.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. That was quite a change, I should say.

Mr. AUSTIN. Far from it. That represented what we really finally did, except for the word "directed." We struck out the word "all" and went back to the word "any," but we added the word "only" in order to make it certain that we meant "all," that if the President delegated any of his authority he should delegate it all to the Director.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President—

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Does the Senator desire to speak on the point we have been discussing?

Mr. WHEELER. Yes. I assume that the language adopted meant merely that in order to perform his duties the Director could delegate some of his powers, which he would have to delegate to some subordinate. But there was no intention on the part of the conferees, I assume, that the Director could or would delegate all his powers to the War Manpower Commission or to any other body. It was the usual provision that was inserted, merely because the Director would have to delegate some of his powers to subordinates in order to execute the provisions of the act. To put any other construction on the language would seem to me to be contrary to all legislative policies and all drafting of legislation which has been heretofore enacted.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I do not think there is any question about what the language means. I think it is definite enough.

Mr. WHEELER. The Senator from Rhode Island raised a question with reference to the power of Congress, stating, as I recall, that it was unconstitutional for the Congress to take away from the Executive any powers. Certainly the Congress of the United States has the power to enact any piece of legislation it desires to enact, and it has the power to designate who is to execute the provisions of any act. There cannot be any question about that. We are not taking away from the President his power to appoint. We are merely providing by legislation who is to carry out particular

provisions of the law, as we have a perfect right to do under the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I notice that in the original act section 9 starts out in this way:

The President is empowered, through the head of the War Department or the Navy Department of the Government, in addition to the present authorized methods—

And so forth. So that there is somewhat of a precedent, except that the language is unusual, having the word "only" in it.

I took the matter of the bill up with Mr. McNutt, the Chairman of the War Manpower Commission, and I have a reply from him, which I received just a few moments ago, which I desire to have appear in the RECORD at this point. It reads as follows:

OFFICE FOR EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT,  
WAR MANPOWER COMMISSION,  
Washington, D. C., November 20, 1943.  
Hon. EDWIN C. JOHNSON,  
United States Senate,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR JOHNSON: This is in reply to your request for information on S. 763. I will answer first your inquiry with reference to the history of the nondeferable list. I will then describe the effect of the amendment which would authorize the President to delegate any Selective Service authority to the Director of Selective Service only.

The opposition has been engaged in creating a public impression that the nondeferable list was imposed on Selective Service by the War Manpower Commission or by me personally. The actual history, and it is one which, I am sure, General Hershey would be very happy to confirm, is quite the contrary. The nondeferable list was proposed by General Hershey to the War Manpower Commission on October 26, 1942, 6 weeks before the Selective Service System became a part of the War Manpower Commission. General Hershey at that time recommended that these lists take effect on or before November 10, 1942.

The Commission studied the proposals and our staff wrote an analysis which criticized the recommendations adversely. General Hershey renewed his recommendation on November 10, 1942, and it was rejected.

In these earlier proposals made by General Hershey, his proposed nondeferable list was far broader than that finally adopted. It included such items as banks, printing and publishing, and civilian apparel.

After the transfer of Selective Service to the War Manpower Commission, the matter was discussed further and the curtailed list, which included only unskilled activities and occupations and those bordering on the luxury trades, was developed as a compromise. It was General Hershey, who on January 27 presented the revised proposal to the War Manpower Commission and who on January 29 of this year presented it to the management-labor committee.

One of the basic purposes of the list was to delay the date for the general drafting of fathers by sending increased numbers of fathers from the listed occupations into essential industry where they might be eligible to displace single men.

The proposed amendment of section 10 (b) of the Selective Service Act, which would authorize the President to delegate selective-service authority to the Director of Selective Service only was developed apparently with two objectives in mind: (a) that this action would keep such policies as the nondeferable list from being "imposed" on the Selective



Service System. The history described above adequately indicates that it was not "imposed;" and (b) with the idea that a divided authority over manpower mobilization would permit a reduced emphasis on occupational deferment and a consequent reduction of the number of fathers to be drafted. It is my belief that such divided responsibility would make it difficult to allocate workers with accuracy and dispatch. To whatever extent that happens, manpower will be wasted and the number of fathers who will be vulnerable to the draft will be increased.

The principle that there should be one responsible administrative authority allocating manpower between military and civilian needs is basic in all well-operated programs. It is worth notice that every congressional committee which has studied the problem has reached that conclusion. The Truman committee, the Tolan committee, the Kilgore committee, have all, in various language, placed emphasis upon the need for a single, responsible, administrative control. The proposed amendment would make it impossible for the President to provide for the integration of selective-service policy with the manpower program as a whole. It would throw all coordination back into the President's hands. It is a sabotage of sound administration. Let us hope that if it is passed, the President's critics will not then attack him on the ground that administrative responsibility is divided.

It was the absence of such a single integrated control and the urgent necessity of coordinating military and civilian recruitment, led the President on December 5 to issue an Executive order transferring the Selective Service System to the War Manpower Commission. In the absence of such coordination, it is inevitable that an agency responsible solely for filling military calls would tend to subordinate the vital needs of war production. The depletion of our manpower pool over the past 2 years and the fact that we are approaching peak schedules of war production make it especially important that the greatest possible selectivity be exercised.

Another important consideration in reviewing the relationship of the United States Employment Service and the Selective Service System lies in the resources and facilities which must be made available in restoring individuals to useful war work as they are discharged from the armed services. Arrangements have been effected and procedures issued for a close working relationship between local selective-service boards and local employment offices to war-useful employment. In many respects this working relationship constitutes the basis for the post-war readjustment of demobilized individuals. It would be extremely unfortunate to impede the efforts now being made to speedily place individuals who have been discharged from the armed forces.

Very real progress has been made during the past year in developing an over-all manpower program designed to recruit manpower for the armed services, the war-production industry, and the civilian economy. These provisions authorizing the President to delegate selective-service authority to the Director of Selective Service only, would tear apart the relationship which has been established, and would seriously weaken the manpower program on the basis of which this recruitment is now being effectively carried on.

These paragraphs will, I hope, serve to state the fundamental issue. It is one which I think the Senate should know before taking final action.

Sincerely,

PAUL V. MCNUTT,  
Chairman.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Yes; but first I merely wish to say that under the language of the bill as it comes from the conference no individual will be inducted because of occupation. Nondeferable lists set up by the War Manpower Commission have been entirely eliminated, and will be eliminated by the language of the bill that has been agreed upon by the conferees.

I now yield to the Senator from Montana.

Mr. WHEELER. The Senator from Missouri [Mr. CLARK] has just called my attention to a colloquy which took place on the floor of the Senate when the Bailey-Clark amendment was under consideration, in which I stated:

Mr. President, I should like to have the attention of the Senator from North Carolina, the author of the amendment. I call his attention to the language on page 3, beginning in line 3:

"The Director of Selective Service, upon appeal or upon his own motion, shall have power to determine all claims or questions with respect to inclusion for, or exemption or deferment from, training and service under this act; and the determination of the Director shall be final."

I have no complaint with the paragraph, but the question arises whether that language applies only to subsection (n), or whether it has general application. I assume that the Senator intended that the paragraph should have general application, and did not intend to have it apply only to subsection (n). There is some question in my mind as to whether it applies only to subsection (n), particularly because it is in that subsection.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. President, I do not think there is any question about that. The language is:

"The Director of Selective Service, upon appeal or upon his own motion, shall have power to determine all claims or questions with respect to inclusion for, or exemption or deferment from, training and service under this act; and the determination of the Director shall be final."

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Yes, but that applies to appeals, if the Senator will notice.

Mr. WHEELER. Wait a moment. The Senator from North Carolina continued:

The words "this act" refer to the entire act.

That was the question in my mind.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. They do, so far as appeals are concerned.

Mr. WHEELER. No; the language goes further than that, it seems to me.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I do not know how it can go any further.

Mr. WHEELER. The subsection deals with appeals, I agree. That is the thing of which I was asking the Senator for his interpretation. The Senator from North Carolina said:

The words "this act" refer to the entire act.

Then I stated:

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, allow me to say to my friend that it was not only a question in my mind but it was likewise a question which I raised in the mind of the legislative counsel, Mr. Murphy. There was some question about it, and it was thought that it might possibly be interpreted in that way. I wished to have the explanation of the Senator from North Carolina, which is that the language is not intended to apply merely to this

particular subsection but that it is to apply generally to the whole selective-service law.

Mr. BAILEY. If the language had been intended to apply merely to the subsection, it would have read "under this subsection" instead of "under this act." The word "act" is very significant. In my judgment, it refers to the whole act.

So, if it referred to the whole act, then it did not refer to appeals, because the language is:

The Director of Selective Service, upon appeal or upon his own motion, shall have power to determine all claims or questions with respect to inclusion for, or exemption or deferment from, training and service under this act; and the determination of the Director shall be final.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, we had that colloquy before us when the conferees reached their agreement. But regardless of what the Senator from North Carolina and other Senators may have intended to write into the bill, this is what they wrote into the bill—and I read from the bill itself:

Such decision of the appeal board shall be final unless modified or changed by the Director of Selective Service. The Director of Selective Service, upon appeal or upon his own motion, shall have power to determine all claims or questions with respect to inclusion for, or exemption or deferment from, training and service under this act; and the determination of the Director shall be final.

That is still talking about appeals. However, the conferees adopted the language found in the report, so that the President either must exercise the authority and power we have given him under this act itself or, if he delegates it to anyone, he must delegate it to the Director of Selective Service.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I yield.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. In view of the letter of Commissioner McNutt, and also in view of statements contained in letters sent out by some news services to the effect that the provisions both of the Senate and the House bills were intended as some derogation of the respect due to the President, or some attempt to limit the President's authority, or else an attempt to unhorse Mr. McNutt, I should like to say that the provisions referred to in the Bailey-Clark amendment were included in that amendment at my instance and insistence, and were included after consultation with the Senator from Alabama [Mr. HILL], who was one of the Senators in charge of the bill, and with various other Senators. The language was substantially taken from a provision in the substitute of the Senator from Ohio [Mr. TAFT].

I should like to say that there was no intention on the part of anyone, so far as I know, and I think I attended all the conferences that discussed the matter, of showing any disrespect to the President, or in the slightest degree undertaking to derogate his authority, and there was not even any attempt whatever to unhorse Mr. McNutt. The whole point was that the Senate and the House, in my judgment, were tired of the ring-around-the-rosy game which has been



played in this country for the last several months, which has caused so much confusion and so much dissatisfaction.

It has been the practice that if one went to Hershey with a problem arising in the field, Hershey would say, "You have to go to Appleby," or whatever the name of the executive assistant or director may be, who would say he did not know about it, and that you would have to go to McNutt. McNutt would say you would have to go to somebody else. It was the intention of this provision to fix the authority and the responsibility some place where Congress could get at it, and have someone to hold responsible.

The question then was whom to hold responsible, and it was deemed wise to include a provision looking to holding responsible a statutory officer already in existence, one provided for by statute in connection with setting up the Selective Service. He was the man who was to exercise the responsibility, and to be held responsible.

Mr. President, it seems to me to be an entire muddying of the issue to come forward now and try to create a controversy between the Manpower Commission and the Selective Service. Congress set up the Selective Service. Congress had the right to impose any duties it saw fit on any statutory officer, and that is all it did, and all that was intended to be done.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, the so-called Bushfield amendment respecting preinduction physical examination was somewhat changed, but it still remains in the bill as reported by the conferees. I do not know whether it is improved, but the idea is there, although the House made some changes to which the Senate conferees agreed.

Another feature of the bill, I may say, was the setting up of a board of five physicians. The purpose was to reduce the number of persons classified in IV-F. That point was repeatedly discussed in the Senate, and there seemed to be a desire on the part of the Senate that persons placed in class IV-F should be more carefully scrutinized. So provision was made to create a board of five physicians so as to get more inductees out of the IV-F classification, and the provision was especially directed toward the physical, mental, and moral condition of the prospective inductees.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield there?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Yes; I am glad to yield. The Senator from Montana stressed that point repeatedly.

Mr. WHEELER. Information which has been furnished me by a rather reliable source is to the effect that already more than 500,000 men have been mustered out of the armed services, and that by the end of the year it is estimated that considerably more men will have been mustered out. Some estimates are that as many as a million men will be mustered out. It does not seem possible, to me, that so many men could be mustered out, and that the Army is mustering out of the service at the rate of several hundred thousand a month men who have had the benefit of military train-

ing and experience, and a vast majority of whom are perfectly capable of performing limited duty. If the Army could be persuaded to postpone the discharge of such men, and if it would utilize them for the various so-called housekeeping duties, it would become unnecessary to call so many fathers. I do not have the exact figures but I have the figures furnished me some time ago by the Army.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield to me, I should like to call to the attention of the Senate a provision of the conference report bearing on that point. I think the provision referred to would be an improvement of the existing law, because it would open the door, as the Senator suggests, for the employment of officers coming from one group. I read from the third paragraph on page 3 of the conference report:

*Provided, That any officer on the active or retired list of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, or Coast Guard, or of any reserve component thereof or any officer or employee of any department or agency of the United States who may be assigned or detailed to any office or position to carry out the provisions of this act (except to offices or positions on local boards or appeal boards established or created pursuant to section 10 (a) (2)) may serve in and perform the functions of such office or position without loss of or prejudice to his status as such officer in the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, or Coast Guard, or reserve component thereof, or as such officer or employee in any department or agency of the United States.*

Mr. WHEELER. I thank the Senator. If I may have the indulgence of the Senator from Colorado, I should like to have him point out what the Army is doing. For the life of me, I cannot understand why the Army should call pre-Pearl Harbor fathers and at the same time muster out several hundred thousand men who are still qualified for limited service. Some of the pre-Pearl Harbor fathers have one child; some have as many as five children; some have as many as nine children. Mr. President, stop and think what that means in the way of expense to this country, not only in the matter of taking care of the children during the war but in the matter of the burden which will be placed upon the Government after the war, if the fathers of those children are wounded or injured.

I appreciate the fact that anyone who criticizes the Army in the slightest degree because of anything it does during wartime subjects himself to serious animadversions, but I submit there is no reason in the world why the Army should be mustering out every month thousands of men who have had experience and training, and then calling in pre-Pearl Harbor fathers with five, six, eight, or nine children. It is an absurdity upon its face.

In the last few weeks there came to see me a man who happened to be hospitalized for a few weeks, and then was mustered out. Some such men have said they were not physically fit to take the tough training, but that they were doing limited-service work. The man who spoke to me said he was doing office work. He was mustered out, but he said, "I am

perfectly able, physically, to do that work." He wanted to stay in the Army, but he was mustered out. Other cases of the same kind and character have come to my attention, and they are occurring all over the United States. Why does the Army muster out such men, on the one hand, after they have had a year or 2 years of training, and then call fathers with children?

When the bill was before the Senate, everyone knows that the sentiment of the Senate was overwhelmingly in favor of the passage of a bill exempting fathers; but in order to prevent having that done, General Marshall and Admiral King were called before the committee. Immediately it was said, of course, "Anything they say you must not question; you must not question anything under the sun that General Marshall or Admiral King says." If any Member of the Senate had stood on this floor and said that the War Department should not have the \$13,000,000,000 it is now turning back to the Treasury I can almost hear other Members of the Senate saying to him, "You must not question that; they know what they are about."

The Army is going to turn back \$13,000,000,000 which it cannot use. Yet, Mr. President, if any Senator had stood on this floor and suggested a reduction of the appropriations he would have been severely criticized in many of the newspapers, by the Army, by the Navy, and by the administration. I could stand here the remainder of the afternoon and call attention to the fact that factories are now being closed and that copper is now being stock-piled, although a few months ago certain officials of the Government were calling for more copper, were saying not enough copper was being mined, and were urging that more and more copper be mined. Nevertheless, today copper is being stock-piled, and factories are being closed.

In my judgment, the first thing we know we are likely to have some unemployment in the United States. Why do we not wait awhile before we allow to be called into the service fathers who could not possibly be shipped overseas as soon as they were called? Why not use common, ordinary horse sense, and not take fathers with children, and break up homes? Why not wait a few months, to see whether it will be necessary to take fathers into the armed forces and to break up many homes?

Mr. President, I do not think it will be necessary to take fathers. I do not think it is necessary to take them now, and I do not think it has been necessary to take them, any more than it was necessary to give the Army the \$13,000,000,000 it could not possibly use, any more than it was necessary for certain officials of the Government to cry for all the copper in the United States, although now it is being stock-piled because more copper than can be used is available, or any more than it was necessary to keep in operation all the factories which are equipped to turn out munitions, although for a long time it was constantly said that the entire output of such factories was necessary, and that it was essential



to employ thousands of persons to work in such factories. However, now they are being closed.

With all due respect to General Arnold, he said that they had to proceed on a business basis. Of course, General Arnold is not responsible for it, because he could not possibly know what was going on in that gigantic undertaking, and I place no blame whatsoever on him, but I do say that there is more inefficiency today in the War Department than in almost any other department of our Government.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, as the Senator from Montana knows, I am in agreement with him on the points which he has raised; but both the Senate and the House have refused to enact that kind of legislation. Every day fathers are being inducted all over the country. If the pending conference report is adopted, it may be of some little help, but Congress refused to enact the legislation which the Senator from Montana favored.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for one or two observations?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I should like to make one further point, if the Senator will permit me.

Mr. BARKLEY. What I have to say is in connection with what the Senator from Montana has just stated.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. The whole theory of the argument of the Senator from Montana was discussed for weeks and months. It was threshed out when the bill was before the Committee on Military Affairs, when hearings were held. It is true, as was made perfectly plain by General Marshall, General Hershey, and others who testified, that men are being discharged from the Army. They stated that, based upon an Army of 7,700,000 at the end of this year, an average of about 75,000 a month were being discharged for physical reasons. That is an average of about 900,000 a year. It may be true that some of those men might be used somewhere else for limited service; but I do not think that is a question which we can settle here. We do not have intimate knowledge about the condition of those men.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I should like to call the Senator's attention to the following language in the conference report. It is the last sentence in section 4:

The Director of Selective Service shall cause to be reexamined those men, including those previously discharged from the armed services because of physical disability, who may qualify under any new standards established.

Mr. BARKLEY. Substantially that provision was in the bill as it passed the Senate. We adopted that amendment on the floor of the Senate.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. That is true; and it is still in the bill.

Mr. BARKLEY. We instructed the War Manpower Commission, the Selective Service, and the departments which were responsible, to reexamine all the men who had been discharged or who were on the verge of discharge for phys-

ical reasons, and all those who had been deferred for one reason or another. We instructed that they be reexamined with a fine-tooth comb to see if their services could not be utilized.

The point I am trying to make is that the War Department is not subject to criticism because it has been discharging and is now discharging men at the rate of about 75,000 a month for physical reasons. General Marshall and the other representatives of the War Department testified that as we get further into the war and our casualties increase, the average will be higher than 75,000.

So far as the \$13,000,000,000 referred to by the Senator from Montana is concerned, we know, and any fair-minded, reasonable man is bound to concede, that when we got into this war unexpectedly after Pearl Harbor, we had to operate in a hurry. We had to do things on a large scale. We proceeded with the appropriation of money, and the War Department and the Navy Department proceeded in the execution of plans on the theory that it was much better to have more than was needed than to have less than was needed. If on any battlefield or in any program inaugurated by the War Department or the Navy Department, it had developed that less had been provided than we needed, the criticism of those departments would have mounted sky-high, compared with the criticism that they asked for more than they needed. I think it is to the credit of the War Department that it has already announced the return of \$13,000,000,000 to the Treasury. The estimate is that the Navy Department will turn back \$5,000,000,000, and perhaps more. I have heard estimates as high as \$10,000,000,000.

The same thing happened in the last war. It is always impossible to sit down at a table and calculate to the fineness of a bat's eye, just how much is going to be needed everywhere. Congress accepts the theory that we are bound to prepare for the possibility of having more than is needed, rather than to have less than is needed, always provided, of course, that due economy is exercised in the expenditure of the money. I hope the War Department can turn back not only \$13,000,000,000, but much more than that when the war is over, and that the Navy Department, in proportion to the amount which it has received, can turn back to the Treasury more billions of dollars than have been suggested.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. It restores our confidence in those departments to have them do so.

Mr. BARKLEY. It does; and it seems to me that they ought not to be criticized for finding out that they asked for more money than they needed, and are turning back the surplus.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, I do not wish to be understood as criticizing the War Department for turning back the money; but when the Senator talks about \$13,000,000,000 being what can be put in a bat's eye—

Mr. BARKLEY. The Senator knows that I was not talking about putting \$13,000,000,000 in a bat's eye. I was talk-

ing about Army officers sitting down at a table and working out to the fineness of a bat's eye, everything they needed in the way of supplies and equipment.

Mr. WHEELER. The Senator was talking about a bat's eye, and I say he was talking about putting \$13,000,000,000 in a bat's eye.

Mr. BARKLEY. I think the Senator is playing on words.

Mr. WHEELER. The Senator from Kentucky was playing on words.

Mr. BARKLEY. I do not understand that even the Senator from Montana thinks that \$13,000,000,000 can be put in a bat's eye.

Mr. WHEELER. The Senator was playing on words when he was talking about the \$13,000,000,000 which I mentioned. He said that Army officers could not sit down and work it out to the fineness of a bat's eye. I said that \$13,000,000,000 could not be put in a bat's eye.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, for once the Senator and I agree. Thirteen billion dollars cannot be put in a bat's eye. That is settled. [Laughter.]

Mr. WHEELER. I am glad to have the Senator agree with me once in a while.

I wish to compliment the War Department for turning back \$13,000,000,000. I hope the Navy Department will find that it has made mistakes to the extent of \$10,000,000,000; and I hope the Maritime Commission will find that it has made mistakes to the extent of \$7,000,000,000 or \$8,000,000,000. I hope that many of the other departments which are greatly overstaffed will find that they can turn back a few billion dollars of the taxpayers' money into the Treasury of the United States. If they would all do that, they would restore confidence in the Government and in the Democratic Party.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. I should like to make a statement in connection with something which the Senator from Montana has said. He said something about the War Department turning back \$13,000,000,000. In a sense, that is true; and in a sense, it is not correct.

The Director of the Budget was before our committee a few days ago. It seems that this money has been turned over to the Director of the Budget, and he holds it until next July, to determine whether he shall reapportion or reassign any of the money. I wish to be frank about it. I told him that I doubted whether he had the authority to reapportion, reallocate, or reappropriate money for the Department, and that that function was entirely within the province of the Congress. In some way he holds it and sets up reserves. He is to furnish me with a brief so that we can determine whether or not he has authority to hold the money or to set up reserves with respect to that money or any other money. I do not think he has such authority.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Let us put it in the new revenue bill.

Mr. McKELLAR. It certainly is not in the law at present.

Mr. WHEELER. I thank the Senator for the interruption. If the Senator from Colorado will bear with me for a moment further, one of the things which is causing a break-down and lack of confidence in the Government is waste and extravagance, not only in the amount of money which is being squandered by some of the departments but in other respects. I think the junior Senator from Missouri [Mr. TRUMAN] and the special committee of which he is chairman have done a magnificent job in showing up some of the waste and extravagance which have occurred in some of the departments and agencies in Washington, for instance, in the War Department, as well as in other departments. I assume that the junior Senator from Missouri and his committee have not much more than scratched the surface in respect to much of the waste and extravagance which is occurring. There is not only waste of money but there is waste of manpower from one end of this country to the other. Let Senators talk to any businessmen or to any officers in the Navy Department and they will be told what I have been told. I have talked to some of the officers in the War Department and to some of the officers in the Navy Department, and they have told me that they can get along with one-third the personnel they have in Washington.

The whole matter ties into the operations of the Selective Service System, because of the waste and extravagance in connection with the use of the Nation's manpower.

I have no fault to find with Mr. McNutt. I do not think the fault is his. So far as I am concerned, I have no criticism in any way whatsoever of Mr. McNutt or of General Hershey. I think the responsibility should be centered in one man, for conflicting statements were constantly coming from those two agencies, some by Mr. McNutt and others by General Hershey.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. The conference report does not put the responsibility in only one place. It puts it in two places, one of which is the Selective Service System.

Mr. WHEELER. What I was saying was that I think the Selective Service System was originally intended by Congress to be in one department.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. That is what this bill would do.

Mr. WHEELER. Yes; that is what it would do; and I am in thorough accord with the provisions of the bill, but by voting for it in that respect I do not want my vote or statement to be understood as being in the slightest a criticism of Mr. McNutt. I think it is rather a criticism of placing responsibility for the matter on both General Hershey and Mr. McNutt.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I yield.

Mr. AUSTIN. On the subject of waste in the isolation of manpower, based on physical capacity, I think the RECORD

should show that the general policy of the War Department is in full agreement with what the distinguished senior Senator from Montana [Mr. WHEELER] has just stated. I should like to have the RECORD contain Circular No. 293, dated at Washington, November 11, 1943. That is only about a week or so ago. I will read from it only one sentence and shall request unanimous consent to have the whole of it inserted in the RECORD if the Senator will permit. Will he?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Certainly.

Mr. AUSTIN. The portion I wish to read is as follows:

The discharge of an enlisted man for physical reasons because he is incapable of serving in a physically exacting position when he may well render adequate service in a less exacting assignment is a waste of military manpower and is prohibited. Such men will be retained in the service and will be given appropriate assignments even though they do not fulfill the minimum physical standards for induction under MR 1-9.

That is the end of the portion I wish to read. I ask unanimous consent that the entire circular be printed in the RECORD at this point, as a part of my remarks.

There being no objection, the circular was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### CIRCULAR NO. 293

##### WAR DEPARTMENT,

Washington, D. C., November 11, 1943.

Enlisted men—Utilization of manpower based on physical capacity.—1. Rescission of previous instructions.—a. Circular No. 395, War Department, 1942, as amended by section II, Circular No. 404, War Department, 1942; section I, Circular No. 39, and section II, Circular No. 101, War Department, 1943; section III, Circular No. 161, War Department, 1943, as amended by section I, Circular No. 176, War Department, 1943; paragraphs 2 and 3, section III, Circular No. 189, War Department, 1943; and Memorandum No. W615-64-43, August 26, 1943, are rescinded.

b. All instructions and directives in conflict with the provisions of this circular are rescinded.

2. General policy: a. It is imperative that each enlisted man be assigned to the position in which he can render the maximum service. Classification, assignment, reassignment, and training are command functions which must be exercised energetically and continuously so that the skill, aptitude, physical qualifications, and capacity for development of the individual are used to the utmost.

b. Some assignments require enlisted men of unusual strength, stamina, and all around physical ability but even in combat units there are many positions which can be filled by men of lesser physical attainments. Conservation and proper use of our manpower require that each enlisted man found in an assignment beyond his physical capacity be reassigned to a job within that capacity. Many enlisted men who are below current physical standards for induction are extremely valuable to the Army because of their training, experience, ability, and demonstrated capacity to render service in a specified assignment. The discharge of an enlisted man for physical reasons because he is incapable of serving in a physically exacting position when he may well render adequate service in a less exacting assignment is a waste of military manpower and is prohibited. Such men will be retained in the service and will be given appropriate assignments even

though they do not fulfill the minimum physical standards for induction under MR 1-9.

c. (1) Officers responsible for selection and dispatch of overseas casual replacements will select only those fully qualified physically to perform the duties of their military occupational specialties under field conditions. See paragraph 4a (6).

(2) Men of Table of Organization units dispatched overseas must be considered in the same way. At the time they were assigned to units these men were considered physically qualified to serve therein. Those found definitely not qualified should be removed as early as possible in the training period. As members of units arriving at a port of embarkation these enlisted men have been trained in their jobs, have proved their ability in their assignments, and have become part of the organization team. Though they may not meet the standards for individual replacements, they are considered fully capable of performing adequately in their current assignments unless they have suffered recent marked physical set-back or deterioration. The unnecessary removal of trained enlisted men from units immediately prior to departure for overseas is a flagrant example of wastage of military manpower and training, destructive alike to the morale of the individual and the efficiency of the unit.

d. The existence of a nonprogressive or remedial defect or disease which would disqualify a man for dispatch overseas will not be sufficient reason to return him to the United States from an overseas theater. Men whose defects are such that they can be remedied within the overseas command and those who can serve usefully in any assignment in overseas theaters, despite their defects, will be retained. Malaria alone, without incapacitating residual damage or sequelae, such as marked splenomegaly or cachexia, will not be a reason for return to the United States from overseas.

e. The discharge of men who can render effective service is prohibited. On the other hand, the retention of men unable to perform a reasonable day's work for the Army is wasteful. Therefore, commanders and surgeons will exercise extreme care and judgment in arriving at a decision to discharge an enlisted man on physical grounds. It is essential that commanders exercising discharge authority give this matter their closest personal supervision so as to obtain the maximum benefit from available manpower. Enlisted men who are physically unable to render useful military service in any assignment that can reasonably be made available will be discharged immediately under the provisions of AR 615-360. If overseas they will be returned to the United States for discharge.

f. Enlisted men will be assigned to the most active-type of duty appropriate to their physical qualifications with due consideration to their civilian training and experience, education, intelligence, aptitude, leadership ability, and acquired military occupational qualifications. All commanders and those staff officers concerned with personnel must study this matter continuously, for it never remains static.

g. Each of the three major forces must make the best use of its physically handicapped enlisted men. Enlisted men will not be transferred from one major force to another solely by reason of physical condition without the concurrence of the commanders concerned, except as directed by the War Department. Enlisted men of the Army Ground Forces who cannot be used in any unit or installation thereof by reason of physical handicap, but who are considered capable of rendering useful service elsewhere, will be reported to The Adjutant General for reassignment.



3. Use of term "limited service": The use of the term "limited service" pertaining to enlisted men is discontinued. This term is used only at armed forces induction stations where similar terminology is used by Selective Service and the Navy. Discontinuance of the term "limited service," however, does not mean that men heretofore classified as "limited service" are to be discharged or that the Army will not continue to induct and use men who do not meet the full standards for general service. No man will be discharged for physical disability if he meets the standards for induction for limited service currently prescribed in MR 1-9.

4. Physical standards for dispatch overseas: a. Enlisted men will not be dispatched overseas who have any of the following defects:

(1) Pronounced psychiatric disorders. Men with other psychiatric disorders, except mild psychoneuroses, transient in character, will not be sent overseas with combat units or as casual replacements.

(2) Hernia, except small incisional or umbilical. Moderate impulse produced by cough at the inguinal ring or at the site of a scar is not necessarily indicative of hernia. Diagnosis of inguinal hernia must be based upon demonstration of a hernial sac.

(3) Class I dental defects, except those individuals whose only defect is the need of prosthetic replacements, provided that, despite the missing teeth, they have been able to follow a gainful occupation in civil life, and histories indicate that restoration of the missing teeth is not essential.

(4) Enucleation of an eye with or without prosthesis.

(5) Individuals who have suffered from tropical diseases causing residual damage or sequelae, or tropical diseases, such as filariasis, which are liable to exacerbation or serious aggravation upon reinfection. This does not include uncomplicated malaria, except that individuals who have or have had a clinical attack of malaria or in whose blood malaria parasites are found will not be sent overseas until 6 months subsequent to the date of recovery from symptoms or of disappearance of parasites from the blood.

(6) Defects below the minimum physical standards for induction as provided in MR 1-9, as amended, except that enlisted members of units who have defects below the minimum standards for induction, other than those listed in (1) through (5) above, and who have been trained in and have performed adequately in their current assignments, or who are believed capable of serving usefully therein, will be retained in their units.

b. Enlisted men not qualified for overseas service as specified in this circular will be removed from units prior to departure from home stations. Examinations of men in units at staging areas will be limited to necessary physical inspections to determine the existence of communicable disease, venereal disease disqualifying under the provisions of e below, and to locate and remove those whose physical condition has undergone a marked and disqualifying deterioration subsequent to the screening at home station. The removal of men from units at staging areas immediately prior to departure overseas must be reduced to a minimum.

c. Enlisted men with physical defects which disqualify them for overseas service will not be reassigned to overseas replacement depots, casual shipments, or tactical units of the field forces which have been alerted for overseas service. They will be reassigned to installations, activities, or units assigned to duty in the continental United States until their defects are remedied. This does not prohibit the appropriate reassignment to new or low priority units of casual replacements disqualified under a (6) above, but who otherwise meet the requirements for overseas shipment as members of units.

d. When disqualifying defects are discovered, appropriate notation will be made on Soldier's Qualification Card under "Remarks" (par. 28, W. D., A. G. O. Form No. 20) and on service records (W. D., A. G. O. Form No. 24) under "Remarks Administrative." Prompt initiation and early completion of action to remedy correctable defects is the responsibility of every commander.

e. (1) When otherwise qualified, enlisted men with venereal diseases are eligible for overseas shipment except for those with the following conditions:

(a) Chancroid or undiagnosed penile ulcers.

(b) Primary and secondary syphilis unless two injections of an arsenical have been administered.

(c) Sulfonamide-resistant gonorrhea as determined by failure to respond to one course of treatment.

(d) Gonorrhea with complications such as epididymitis, arthritis, and severe acute prostatitis.

(e) Granuloma inguinale or lymphogranuloma venereum.

(2) When penicillin is available on transports, all individuals with gonorrhea, except those with complications listed in (1) (d) above, may be shipped.

5. Uniform standard and procedures to prevail: Commanders will require officers under their jurisdiction to read this circular within 48 hours of its receipt at the station. They will then conduct the conferences and inspections necessary to insure that all concerned are acquainted with these policies and that a uniform understanding of standards and procedure is achieved.

[A. G. 220.4 (6 Nov. 43).]

By order of the Secretary of War:

G. C. MARSHALL,

Chief of Staff.

Official:

ROBERT H. DUNLOP,

Brigadier General,

Acting The Adjutant General.

Mr. AUSTIN. In passing, I should like to observe that of course the men and women of this country, other than those already in the military forces, do not come under the authority of the President as Commander in Chief of the armed forces until the law with which we are dealing operates, and neither do they come under the general policy of the War Department or the Navy Department until the execution of the law with which we are dealing.

So when we consider the question of whether we will accept or reject the conference report, I wish Senators to take into account the question of whether we have devised well in amending the Selective Training and Service Act so as to get into the armed forces all those eligibles who are in categories ahead of the category of fathers. That is the question. We have tried to accomplish that result in several different ways. One of the ways is by trying to eliminate the waste to which Senators have referred. We did that by doing away with the existing law which retires an officer at a certain age, no matter whether he is at the zenith of his powers or not, and which made it utterly impossible to employ him in any capacity in connection with the operation of the law we are considering. If this proposed legislation should become law, all such men would be available.

Then we have proposed that the law be made operative on a Nation-wide and

State-wide basis, and that certainly would open the door very wide to a great number of men who are in classes ahead of the class of fathers.

There are other provisions in the proposed law. I shall not take time to refer to them. But I have not heard the senior Senator from Colorado, who has submitted the report, say anything which would justify the Senate in rejecting the conference report.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, I hope I have not said anything that would have that effect.

Mr. AUSTIN. Well, Mr. President, I do not think the Senator from Colorado has exhibited great zeal for the report.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. That is correct. In the committee I was overruled on some very important points concerning which I feel deeply, and naturally I am not too enthusiastic for some of the provisions contained in the report.

There is just one other point I should like to discuss.

Mr. BALL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I yield.

Mr. BALL. This morning I received a letter from a businessman in St. Paul who had been working with the War Manpower Commission in promoting the use by industry of manning tables and replacement schedules. Apparently he has the impression that the conference report would provide that fathers would be placed last in the draft list, and that all single men and married men without children, regardless of occupation, would be called before fathers were called; in other words, that all occupational deferments of single men and/or married men without children would be wiped out by the bill.

I call the Senator's attention to the language at the top of page 2 of the House report, in line 7, where provision is made that registrants shall report on a Nation-wide basis and a State-wide basis.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. From what is the Senator reading?

Mr. BALL. From page 2 of the conference report. The language is as follows:

Registrants shall, on a Nation-wide basis within the Nation and a State-wide basis within each State, be ordered to report to induction stations in such a manner that registrants—

It is the following language which I assume gave rise to my correspondent's impression of the bill—

regardless of their occupations or the activities in which they may be engaged, who were married prior to December 8, 1941, who have maintained a bona fide family relationship with their families since that date and who have a child or children under 18 years of age, will be inducted after the induction of other registrants not deferred, exempted, relieved from liability, or postponed from induction under this act or the rules and regulations prescribed thereunder who are available for induction and are acceptable to the land and naval forces.

That would tend to create the impression that we are wiping out all occupational deferments.



Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Of course, that is not correct. It is a misinterpretation of the conference report to say that the bill would wipe out all such deferments.

Mr. BALL. I do not understand. There is also in the conference report this language, for instance:

To report \* \* \* after the induction of other registrants not deferred, exempted, relieved from liability—

And so on. What is the purpose of that language?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I should like to invite the attention of the Senator to page 6 of the statement on the conference report, in line 5 of the second paragraph. The language to which I refer reads, as follows:

This provision will do away with the so-called nondeferable orders which distinguished between persons in the same status with respect to dependents merely because of differences in occupations.

That is an explanation of the language. The statement continues, as follows:

It does not abolish class II occupational deferments and the distinctions resulting from such deferments, but it does prevent registrants in a given occupation from being inducted in advance of the time they would otherwise be inducted, merely because of their occupation.

In other words, the report sets aside the present rule and regulation whereby a bartender, for instance, with five children, would be taken into the service, regardless of the fact that he had dependents simply because his occupation was a nondeferable one?

Mr. BALL. And classed as non-essential.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. That is correct. That list was promulgated by the War Manpower Commission, and that list is wiped out and eliminated by the conference report.

Mr. BALL. The Senator means that as between a bartender with five children and a single man employed in a food industry, the single man in the food industry would come first unless specific deferment had been obtained for him?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. The bartender and all other fathers would be in the same pool; they would all be at the end of the list.

Mr. BALL. What I am getting at is that the conference report wipes out the occupational deferment.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. No.

Mr. BALL. What is being wiped out, then, is the War Manpower Commission's classification of deferrable and nondeferable or essential and nonessential occupations.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. There is still the classification of A-2, which is occupational; then, A-2 is divided.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, I think the Senator from Colorado has made a good explanation, but I wish to observe, in passing, that this provision to which attention has been called applies only to fathers; it does not apply to any other classes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. And to pre-Pearl Harbor fathers at that.

Mr. AUSTIN. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. The only other point I wish to call attention to is a provision which was put into the bill by the House and was not in the Senate bill, that the Director of the Selective Service must gather information from various governmental agencies concerning requests for deferment, deferments, exemptions, rejections, discharges, inductions, enlistments, replacement schedules, and other matters with respect to registrants, whether or not they are members of the armed forces, or whether or not they are Government or private employees. He must report to the House and to the Senate, that is to the respective military committees of the two bodies such information periodically.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The report was agreed to.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Maurer, one of its reading clerks, communicated to the Senate the intelligence of the death of Hon. Henry B. Steagall, late a Representative from the State of Alabama, and transmitted the resolutions of the House thereon.

The message also communicated to the Senate the intelligence of the death of Hon. J. William Ditter, late a Representative from the State of Pennsylvania, and transmitted the resolutions of the House thereon.

#### WARTIME METHOD OF VOTING BY THE ARMED FORCES

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 1285) to amend the act of September 16, 1942, which provided a method of voting, in time of war, by members of the land and naval forces absent from the place of their residence, and for other purposes.

Mr. HOLMAN. Mr. President, I send to the desk a proposed amendment to Senate bill 1285 and request that it be read, printed, and lie on the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendment will be received, printed, and lie on the table; and the clerk will read the amendment, as requested.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 16, line 20, after the word "President", it is proposed to insert the following: "Provided, That the President by the exercise of this authority shall be deemed to disqualify himself thereby from being a candidate for any office to be affected by the administration of this act; should the President become disqualified from exercising the authority granted to him under this act, then and in that event, the ex-President of the United States who has most recently served as President shall exercise every and all authority which otherwise is granted the President under the language of this act."

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry. I understand that the committee amendment is now open to amendment from the floor?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment of the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DANAHY] is pending. That is the question before the Senate.

Mr. VANDENBERG. What is that amendment?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will again be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 20, line 2, it is proposed to strike out the words "Electors of President and Vice President of the United States", and on page 20, after line 6, to insert the following:

(b) 2. In time of war, notwithstanding any provision of State law relating to the registration of qualified voters, every individual specified in subsection (c) who is absent from the place of his voting residence but otherwise eligible to register and qualified to vote in any election for electors of President and Vice President of the United States, shall be entitled to vote for such electors in accordance with the provisions of this title.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I understood there was general agreement upon that amendment, and I thought it had been adopted.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DANAHY] to the committee amendment.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. EASTLAND. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment which I offer for myself, the junior Senator from Arkansas [Mr. McCLELLAN], and the senior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. McKELLAR]. I ask that the amendment be read, printed, and lie on the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendment will be received, printed, and lie on the table, and it will be read as requested by the Senator from Mississippi.

The CHIEF CLERK. It is proposed to strike out all after the enacting clause and in lieu thereof to insert the following:

That the Congress hereby expresses itself as favoring, and recommends to the several States the enactment of, appropriate legislation to enable each person absent from the place of his residence and serving in the armed services of the United States, who is eligible to vote in any election district or precinct, to vote by absentee ballot in any general election held in his election district or precinct in time of war; and in order to afford ample opportunity for members of the armed forces to vote for Federal, State, and local officials and to utilize the absentee balloting procedures of the various States to the greatest extent possible, it is recommended that each State cause to be printed and delivered to the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy an adequate number of postal cards for use by such absentee voters in the armed forces in making application for absentee ballots, and the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy shall, wherever practicable, and compatible with military operations, cause such postal cards to be delivered to members of the armed forces located within or without the United States, as expeditiously as possible in order to enable such members of the armed forces to secure, execute, and return said ballots in ample time to be recorded for such election.

Sec. 2. (a) It shall, wherever practicable and compatible with military operations, be the duty of the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy to cooperate with appropriate State officers and agencies in the distribution, execution, collection, and return of such absentee ballots, and envelopes to be used in connection therewith, as may



be provided under the laws of the several States for the use of persons in the armed services in time of war.

(b) Such ballots and envelopes, and communications in connection therewith, including postal cards, shall be transmitted free of postage, including air-mail postage, in the United States mails.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I desire to follow up and clean up the subject I raised earlier in the afternoon, because I understand the able Senator from Rhode Island is in substantial agreement with the amendment which I shall offer. I, therefore, send the two following amendments to the desk and ask that they be read and be considered together; and, after they are read, I shall indicate what the net result of the adoption of the amendments would be.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendments to the committee amendment will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. In the committee amendment, on page 17, line 9, beginning with the word "In", it is proposed to strike out through line 20, and on page 17, line 20, in the amendment of the committee, after the period, it is proposed to insert the words "The vote of a majority of all the commissioners shall be necessary to a decision by the commission on any matter."

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, the net result of the two amendments simply is that the language of the pending bill which presents the Chief Justice of the United States with a requested duty which he has indicated he is not prepared to accept is eliminated, and there is substituted a commission consisting of four commissioners, two Republicans and two Democrats, with three of them necessarily voting upon any decision. My understanding is that the Senator from Rhode Island is of the opinion that that is as available as any formula for dealing with the situation.

Mr. GREEN. In view of the communication from the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, some other alternative should be chosen, and the alternative suggested by the Senator from Michigan seems to be as fair as any, especially as it does away with the possibility of any partisanship on the part of the commission. I may say that I accept the amendment as offered.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, I am not very familiar with the proposal. I regret that I was unable to be present this morning to attend the conference of the minority. I do not know whether this suggestion grows out of that conference or not. It would lend some weight to it with me if I did.

Mr. VANDENBERG. It did grow out of the conference this morning.

Mr. AUSTIN. I thank the Senator. I have just been informed of other facts regarding the matter which also incline me to favor the amendment.

I wish to make some inquiries about the amendment for my own information. Does it change the evenly balanced commission?

Mr. VANDENBERG. It does not.

Mr. AUSTIN. It leaves a commission of four?

Mr. VANDENBERG. It does.

Mr. AUSTIN. Two of whom shall be appointed by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, from the party casting the largest number of votes at the last general election, and two from the party casting the next largest number of votes in that election?

Mr. VANDENBERG. That is correct.

Mr. AUSTIN. Thereupon, it would be possible, if the amendment were accepted, for the commission to divide equally; would it not?

Mr. VANDENBERG. That is correct.

Mr. AUSTIN. In other words, there could be a stultification of the action of the commission by a tie vote?

Mr. VANDENBERG. There could be a failure. Whether that would be a stultification or a victory for common sense would depend upon the facts involved.

Mr. AUSTIN. I trust the author of the amendment does not regard my inquiries as offensive.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Not at all.

Mr. AUSTIN. This is old straw for us. I happen to have served on the subcommittee, and we worked so hard on this proposition that I think we thrashed out that particular element quite fully.

Mr. VANDENBERG. If I may interrupt the Senator, I should like to give him one further bit of information, as I do not think he was present this morning when I first raised the question; I do not think he had reached the floor. I presented a letter from the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court asserting that under no circumstances could he comply with the request which is contemplated by the language on page 17.

Mr. AUSTIN. That is an additional fact of importance, and it is in line with what I would expect of the Chief Justice. Also I doubt if the Chief Justice would accept an appointment even on an operating commission of the kind suggested.

Mr. VANDENBERG. He so stated that he would neither accept a place himself nor accept the responsibility for designating someone else.

Mr. AUSTIN. Then this is the place where I think it is just as important as in any other discussion of the bill for me to ask some questions of the author of the bill. I wish to ask the Senator from Rhode Island, who, for the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LUCAS] and himself, introduced the bill, whether they favor the theory, at least, of the Chief Executive, in making the appointments, giving consideration to a list of names of men furnished by those who are in charge of the Republican organization, a list of names of men furnished by those who are the officials of this great political party, and whether the authors of the bill favor the idea of having the President accept such lists with a view of making the selections from them of the two men who would be nominated from the Republican Party. Will the Senator kindly state his position on that point?

Mr. GREEN. Mr. President, I may speak more strongly for my colleague the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LUCAS] than for myself. I know that he is opposed to any such proposition. I, too, am opposed to it, but perhaps not for the same reasons.

Speaking for my reasons, I regard all such limitations on the power of the President to be contrary to the intent of the Constitution. If a limited list is submitted to the President, he cannot exercise the Executive power of appointment which is given him under the Constitution, although I am quite aware of the fact that that has been done a number of times.

I have stated my principal objection to the suggestion. My colleague the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LUCAS] has just entered the Chamber, and he can state his objection, which is based on somewhat different grounds, but in his objection I concur.

Mr. AUSTIN. Let me ask the Senator another question. Assuming an amendment of the bill should be proposed which would aim at some such procedure, and that it should be rejected by the Senate, leaving the bill as we understand it would be upon acceptance of the Vandenberg amendment, with two and two on the commission, with the possibility of a tie, then would the Senator from Rhode Island join with other Senators in urging the President to give consideration, without any law requiring it, to the names presented by some Republican organization, someone who is regarded by Republicans as official, to select therefrom the two men who would be appointed as Republicans on the commission?

Mr. GREEN. I may say that I would thoroughly approve of that. In fact, I might go further than the Senator from Vermont proposes. If it were understood that the majority and minority leaders were to submit names of members of their respective parties to the President, I would strongly urge him to choose from that list, provided it were not too small a list. My purpose, and I am sure the purpose of all the proponents of the bill, is to make certain that it is an absolutely fair bill. We do not want someone who is only a nominal Democrat or a nominal Republican, but someone who will represent the great body of opinion in the two parties, because it is very important that the commission should have the confidence of the members of both parties in its nonpartisanship. In fact, if apart from any action of the Senate, either the majority leader or minority leader should object to any names sent in by the President, I should be glad to support him in his objection.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Rhode Island. He has confirmed what I understood to be his position in the subcommittee.

May I now inquire of the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LUCAS], the coauthor of the bill, what his position is with respect to this informal method of advising the President of who are considered by the parties, in their organizations, to be representative Republicans and Democrats? I am not so concerned about the Democratic Party. That is up to the Democrats. I would not pretend to enter their sanctum sanctorum, and that is why I limit my question to Republicans.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, I was unavoidably absent from the Senate Chamber when the debate upon the pending measure was resumed. However, I think I understand what the able Senator from



Vermont was discussing. Insofar as the Senator from Illinois is concerned, I agreed with the Vandenberg amendment in the full realization that it was almost impossible under the Constitution of the United States to be able to obtain the fifth man unless we wanted to go through with the bill as originally drawn, where-in we provided that the President appoint a commission of five, three of whom were to be Democrats and two of whom were to be Republicans.

Mr. President, I want my position in respect to the War Ballot Commission thoroughly understood. I made the statement before the Committee on Privileges and Elections as a witness and as coauthor of the bill to the effect that all I wanted was an honest, efficient, and expeditious arrangement by the Congress so that soldiers might have a real opportunity to vote. I still stand by that statement. I even went so far as to say that insofar as I was concerned three Republicans could be appointed on the ballot commission and I would not object. Apparently I have more confidence in the high type of men who will render this public service than Republican Senators have with respect to this ballot commission.

Mr. President, much has been said about the ballot commission, and one would think that it is the matter of prime importance in the bill. When the Senate accepted the amendment earlier today which eliminates the provision that the Governor of each State must certify that there has been a substantial compliance with the provisions of this act it eliminated all the trouble which might arise as the result of what the ballot commission might do after the votes have been counted.

I know that the Senator from Vermont agrees with me that whatever the commission may do will be purely administrative or ministerial, and that the commission will have no actual power of making a decision about any question of vital importance. That is particularly true in view of the elimination of the provision in the bill earlier today by adoption of the Vandenberg amendment.

Mr. President, one would think from what has been said in the debate and what has been printed in the newspapers, that the ballot commission is going to take charge of all the ballots; that the commission is going to carry the ballots to the soldiers; that the commission is going to set up the election machinery, and count the ballots after they are cast. Anyone who knows anything about the bill must realize that the ballot commission is established primarily for the purpose of relieving the Army and the Navy of the administrative load.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, I did not intend to ask the Senator a question on those points. I do not think I asked my question clearly enough. Will the Senator permit me to restate it?

Mr. LUCAS. I am coming to it.

Mr. AUSTIN. Oh, is the Senator doing so?

Mr. LUCAS. Yes. I am simply making a preliminary statement.

Mr. AUSTIN. Very well. I appreciate what the Senator is saying, because it is my opinion that the commission will be an operating commission, and will have nothing to do with legislating, and fixing policy, and that sort of thing.

Mr. LUCAS. That is correct.

Mr. AUSTIN. And that the commission will merely be the instrumentality of the Congress.

Mr. LUCAS. Yes.

Mr. AUSTIN. But even such a commission should command the confidence of all Republicans.

Mr. LUCAS. That is correct.

Mr. AUSTIN. It must do so to be effective.

Mr. LUCAS. I agree with the Senator; and because there has been so much misinformation with respect to the powers of the ballot commission the Senator from Illinois is willing to go off on the deep end in order to clear up any misunderstanding.

Mr. AUSTIN. How far would the Senator go in cooperating with the Republicans to induce the Chief Executive to make his appointments from a panel submitted by the organization that represents the Republican Party?

Mr. LUCAS. I went a long way earlier today in agreeing to the amendment offered by my good friend the distinguished Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG]. It would seem to me that in view of the letter the Senator read from the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court that the amendment offered by the Senator from Michigan would be satisfactory. In view of the fact that there is nothing the members of the commission should quarrel about; that they can make no decisions of vital importance I submit there will be no trouble unless they disagree in the beginning in choosing an executive director, the one who will probably do most of the detail work for the commission.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, I have not yet obtained the answer to my question.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, I regret if I am taking too much time of the Senator, but I want to lay down my theory with respect to the ballot commission. I do it because, as I said before, there has been so much misinformation and so much shadow-boxing for some cause or other about the ballot commission. I will now answer the Senator in this way: In view of the fact that I am willing to agree to the Vandenberg amendment, which simply means that three individuals on the commission must agree at any time before a decision can be reached, and in view of the fact that no decisions of any importance will ever be reached, it seems to me that we should leave the appointment of the four commissioners to the President of the United States. This position is supported by the fact that we have kept the constitutional power of confirming these men in the Senate of the United States. In view of the amendment offered by the Senator from Michigan to which the Senator from Illinois agrees, I cannot see any point in submitting a list of names by

the chairman of the Democratic Party and the chairman of the Republican Party to the President of the United States. If it were a question involving important delegated powers to the commissioners a different argument might be made; but I am not going to place the President of the United States in the position that neither the Democrats nor the Republicans have any confidence in him with respect to the appointment of commissioners with ministerial powers. That is exactly the position in which he would be placed in the event we were to say that a list of men from the Republican Party and a list of men from the Democratic Party would have to be submitted to the President. I speak only for myself, yet I believe that every Democrat on this side of the Chamber will support the President of the United States upon that proposition in view of the Vandenberg amendment. I am going to stand firm in that position. I cannot through such an amendment say that I have no confidence in the type of men he will send here for confirmation.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. AUSTIN. I yield, but I should like to pursue this point further.

Mr. BRIDGES. I should like to ask the Senator from Illinois a question in the time of the Senator from Vermont. The Senator from Illinois has made a very able statement, but I cannot believe he is as naive as his statement would indicate. I simply want to ask him if he expects all the people of the country, including all the Republicans of the country, to have complete confidence in appointments the President might make, when the President himself may be a candidate in the election in which the War Ballot Commission would supervise the casting of votes by 10,000,000 voters.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, apparently the Senator has no confidence in the Senate of the United States; because the Senate has the power of confirmation of appointments. Let me further say as a matter of good faith what I said as a witness before the committee. In the event the President of the United States does not send to the Senate the nomination of men agreeable to the minority leader in the Senate, I will stand with the minority, and will vote not to confirm. How much further does the Senator from New Hampshire desire me to go? If he wishes to call that being naive, I plead guilty. I am endeavoring to be fair about the matter, but I shall not vote for any amendment which is a reflection upon the integrity and good faith of the President of the United States.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. AUSTIN. I yield.

Mr. TAFT. I merely desire to say that it seems to me to be no reflection on the President of the United States. For instance, in Ohio—and, I suppose, in many other States—the four members of the board of election of a county are selected by the Republican committee of the county and the Democratic committee of the county. That is a recognized method of having a bipartisan board,



equally selected by the two committees. I think it is purely a method of controlling the holding of the election, and has nothing to do with the President of the United States and is no reflection on him.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, I will not place the President of the United States in the same category as that of the chairman of a county board. The Senator from Ohio, however, may do so if he so desires.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, I simply desire to say that, after all, the control of elections is vested in the localities and the States. If the Senator desires to take the control away from the counties and the States, I do not see why we should not give it to the Federal Government and have the same rule apply.

Mr. LUCAS. In normal times that might be one thing, but the present times are abnormal, as everyone knows. If the Senator desires to take that position, I cannot help it.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, I thank the Senator. I desire to ask my distinguished friend, the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. HATCH] a question. Please forgive me. I think the method proposed discloses a situation. I believe the discussion is revealing to the country a method which was before the committee when it considered this novel adventure. I should like to ask the distinguished senior Senator from New Mexico whether it does not strike him as entirely appropriate for members of the Committee on Privileges and Elections to attempt to have the election surrounded with an atmosphere of confidence. The members of the committee have studied this problem with a view to giving the soldiers a real opportunity to vote under auspices which would not only guarantee the purity of the election and the certainty of their having their vote counted, but which would surround the procedure with an atmosphere of confidence. With that in mind, let me inquire whether the Senator from New Mexico would have objection to joining with the Republicans in requesting the President to make his appointments from a list of, let us say, 12 men who would have been named by the political organization of the Republican Party.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I judge from the question the Senator now asks that it is his view such a provision would not be included in the bill.

Mr. AUSTIN. That is correct.

Mr. HATCH. But, inasmuch as the Senator has asked the chairman of the committee if he would personally make that request of the President, certainly I should be glad to join the chairman of the committee in requesting the President to select the Republican members from a list approved by the Republican organization.

Mr. AUSTIN. Does the Senator consider the queries I am making as a reflection in any way upon the President?

Mr. HATCH. Not the queries the Senator is making, but I am in hearty accord with what the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Lucas] has said about including such a provision as a part of the proposed legislation. I do not think it should be

included as a part of the bill, but I am willing to do anything I can, individually, or as a Senator, or as a member of the committee, to request the President of the United States to select representative Republicans, recommended and approved by the Republican organization; and, as the Senator from Illinois has said, in the event that there were sent to the Senate names of nominees whom the Members of the Senate on the Republican side said were not representative of the Republican Party, I would join them in exercising the senatorial right to reject such nominations.

Mr. AUSTIN. I thank the Senator from New Mexico.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. AUSTIN. I yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. Because so much has been said about the bill, and in view of the fact that I know the Senator from Vermont is an able lawyer and a profound student of the Constitution, I desire to read to him an excerpt from article II of the Constitution, and ask him how the bill could possibly be constitutional in view of this provision:

Each State shall appoint—

Of course, that means each State shall elect—

in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct—

That means the Legislature of Vermont or of Tennessee or of any other State—

a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress.

With that provision in the Constitution, how can we set up machinery relative to a portion of the voters who are to vote in the election? It seems to me that under present circumstances we are precluded from doing so. Knowing the Senator from Vermont to be an eminent lawyer and particularly a great constitutional lawyer, because I have heard him argue constitutional questions on the floor of the Senate, I should like to have his opinion as to how the application of that constitutional provision could be avoided.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, that is a diversion from my query. I shall come to that point because I not only desire to be responsive but I should like to answer the question. Before doing so, I wish to make an observation about the proposed commission. It is a curious fact that I receive more complaints about the proposed commission and the possibility of having some prejudicial thing done by means of our legislation creating a commission which would be entirely in the hands of a possible candidate for the Presidency of the United States than I do regarding any other proposal of the bill.

As a member of the subcommittee which has jurisdiction of the bill, I receive more queries and criticisms relating to that point, than to anything else about the bill, even more than relate to the great questions which are signified by the inquiry of the learned senior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. McKELLAR].

Therefore, it seems to me we should devise the best possible means of clearing the atmosphere relating to the commission. After much study of the matter, I became persuaded that probably the only bill which was feasible, that is, the only one which would be passed by Congress, be approved by the President of the United States, and become law, would be one which would exclude any provision of control over the appointive power, and that we must resort, therefore, to an informal way of getting to the President our views with respect to who are regarded as Republicans.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. AUSTIN. I yield.

Mr. BRIDGES. Is there any particular reason in the Senator's mind why the President of the United States should refuse to sign a bill which provides certain standards with respect to a list of nominees?

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, I do not wish to be misunderstood. I think that as legislators we do not have to pass judgment on the President, or say that the President will veto the bill, as a reason for not doing a thing. That is not what I mean by my allusion to the bill passing the Congress and meeting with the approval of the President.

In my opinion there is quite a difference between the status of an academic question relating to constitutionality, which directly affects the Presidential authority and power, and a question of any other kind. It is a human trait for men, regardless of their office, to fight for their prerogatives and stand by them. When a man gets into office, is there anything more characteristic of him as the occupant of the office than that he should defend his jurisdiction? He would not be worth his salt if he did not defend the jurisdiction of his office and uphold its dignity and power, and fight every time an attack was made upon it. That is why it is very important for us to approach this particular question, which affects the appointive power of the President, with a good deal of caution and with wisdom, if we have it.

Mr. BRIDGES. The Senator is aware, of course, that time and again in American history the Congress has placed limitations on the Presidential power of appointment. It is customary for the President to make appointments from a list of nominations submitted by various groups. Such laws have been enacted and we have functioned under them as an American Government, and no President has ever felt insulted by such restrictions.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. AUSTIN. I yield.

Mr. HATCH. Let me ask the Senator from New Hampshire, What are some of the laws in which restrictions have been placed on the President of the United States with respect to selection of appointees from a list? I am not familiar with them.

Mr. BRIDGES. Under the Transportation Act of 1920, three members of an important board were nominated by the labor groups, three by the carriers, and



three members of the public were chosen by the President.

Under the National Screw Thread Commission Act of 1926, for the standardization of screw threads, the American Society of Mechanical Engineers nominated two members and the Society of Automotive Engineers nominated two.

There are many such instances. It may be said that they are not applicable to this case, but such restrictions have been placed. Such laws have been enacted, and we have functioned under them.

Mr. HATCH. Since the Senator has refreshed my memory, I do recall some of those laws; but I think they are altogether different from the situation with which we are confronted in the pending bill. These suggestions arise because it is said the President of the United States may be a candidate for office; and because he may be a candidate for office, he may select members of the Republican Party—

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, I do not yield for that charge to be made. That is not my view, and that is not what I implied, either. What I am trying to do is to lift the cloud and eliminate the possibility of the smell of brimstone. We are not really burning, but we do not want anyone to think that we are.

Mr. HATCH. I understand the position of the Senator from Vermont. What I was saying was in reply to what the Senator from New Hampshire said about the President possibly feeling insulted. As the Senator from Vermont will recall, I stated in the committee, that the only thing the authors of the bill desired was to see that the board was composed of men truly representative of both great political parties, so as to avoid any "smell of brimstone," to use the Senator's words. I should be perfectly willing to include in the bill a provision to make the board consist of a congressional committee composed of the majority leader of the House, the majority leader of the Senate, the minority leader of the House, and the minority leader of the Senate. I should be willing to have them appointed as the commissioners. We even discussed that possibility, because we knew that those men would inspire confidence. But I did not wish to write into the bill a restrictive provision—unless the commission were to be made a strictly Congressional commission—which would reflect upon the President of the United States, and incidentally reflect upon both parties. When it is said that the President of the United States might select members from the Republican Party and members from the Democratic Party who would not be truly representative of those parties, what would be the purpose of such selection? If he were to select a Republican who did not represent the organization, he would be a man who might "throw in" with the Democrats to steal an election. I have more confidence in the Republican Party than that. I do not believe that the President of the United States would select any man from any faction of the Republican Party who would be so venal or base as to do a thing of that sort; and I do not believe he

would select such a man from the Democratic Party.

I believe that the suggestion not only implies a lack of confidence in the two great parties but a lack of confidence in the President of the United States and in the Senate itself, which, if such selections were made, would be called upon to ratify and confirm them. I think the whole idea implies an entire lack of faith in our political system from top to bottom, including the Senate.

I am perfectly willing to go along with the Senator from Vermont. If names of Republicans are sent to the Senate for confirmation, and the minority says that the nominees are not representative of the Republican Party, I, as a Senator, will vote not to confirm such nominations; and so far as I am concerned the same thing applies to this side of the Chamber.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from New Mexico. The responses from distinguished Senators reveal the spirit which existed in the committee, of fairness and honor, and a disposition to do the things which are necessary in order to afford the soldier the opportunity to cast his vote as he wishes, in secrecy, and to have his ballot delivered at the ballot box, like that of any person who is at home, instead of at the battle front.

The problem of how, by legislation, to control the appointment of the person who should be invested by Presidential appointment with this office was considered from a legal point of view. It was quite a problem. If we were to adhere to the policy of the bill and create an office of such dignity that it would require the advice and consent of the Senate to confirm the appointment of any person to such office, the appointing power would rest solely and exclusively in the President and the Senate. When we get into that area—as we did—if we attempt to restrict the appointment, we shall certainly be confronted by the argument of those who are interested to make it, that such a measure would be unconstitutional. I am not interested in making the argument, either with respect to this or any other impediment which may be found in the Constitution to the opportunity of the soldier to vote.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. AUSTIN. I yield.

Mr. LUCAS. The Senator says he is not interested in making the constitutional argument. It was for that very reason that the committee finally agreed upon the suggestion which was placed in the bill with respect to the fifth member. We thought it would best serve our purpose to request the President of the United States to ask the Chief Justice of the United States to serve on the commission, just as he recently asked Justice Roberts to go to Hawaii and investigate what happened at Pearl Harbor. Justice Roberts did not have to make that trip. Something may come out of the Hawaiian disaster which will finally come before the Supreme Court. Nevertheless, Justice Roberts accepted the trust and did a good job, of course, as

agent of the President in that case. That was discussed before the committee, and as a result of that precedent the committee inserted the provision in the bill with respect to having the President make the request knowing at the time that perhaps it was unconstitutional.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, I gave my approval to the report on the pending bill containing that peculiar provision. I want it understood that I did not by so doing undertake to pass on the constitutionality of it. I did not pass on the constitutionality of the provision in the bill under the heading "Payment of poll tax not required" for if there is any one who is firmly persuaded in his mind that that provision is contrary to the command of the Constitution, I am he.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. AUSTIN. I yield.

Mr. TAFT. I do not quite understand the position of the Senator, because it seems to me that if he admits that a provision in the proposed act is unconstitutional in his opinion, he creates a situation in which the whole validity of the election may be questioned.

Mr. AUSTIN. Very good.

Mr. TAFT. We may be faced with a controversy such as the Hayes-Tilden controversy, which almost produced civil war in the United States, and would have but for the willingness of Mr. Tilden to withdraw. So I cannot understand the Senator's position in stating that, although a certain provision in the bill is unconstitutional, he is willing to support it. It may create a dangerous situation.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. AUSTIN. Just a moment, please, and then I shall yield with pleasure.

Mr. President, I am trying to make it clear and unequivocal that my position is not that of passing on the constitutionality of this measure. I approve it without passing upon that question, because today, in time of war, a higher law than the Constitution commands us. In my opinion there is a binding obligation on me to afford to the soldier on the battlefield the opportunity to exercise the vote for which he is giving his blood, and I will do all that legislation requires in order to see that he gets the opportunity to vote. If he is denied that opportunity, and deprived of it by my opinion with respect to the constitutionality of this or that feature of legislation which is designed to do this extraordinary thing, to make possible an election day on the battlefield in a condition of world war, the effect on his morale will be profound.

I now yield to the Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I wish to say that I agree with the Senator, in terms just as strong as those used by him in regard to the absolute necessity of passing a bill which will permit all soldiers in the field, or wherever they may be, to vote. But I think it ought to be done in a constitutional way. I think it can be done in a constitutional way just as effectively as by



enacting this admittedly unconstitutional measure. I agree with the purpose of the Senator a thousand percent, but I disagree with him with regard to the method. As I look at it, it is our duty to stand by the Constitution. I am speaking only for myself. As I look at it, I think it is our duty to stand by the Constitution in a war as in peace; and I see no difficulty in securing a measure which will be entirely within the Constitution of the United States and will be just as effective as, if not more effective than, the pending bill would be.

I think the Chief Justice of the United States, in writing the letter to my distinguished friend the senior Senator from Michigan had in view that if the Congress is to set up a commission, the question which will undoubtedly be raised may come before the Supreme Court hereafter. The Chief Justice did not want to be handicapped by having been a party to any of it.

That is my view. I wish to say to the Senator from Vermont that no Senator desires any more ardently than do I that all the soldiers who are fighting for their country shall have the opportunity to vote. But let us give them that privilege in a constitutional way.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, that is a pious wish which was entertained by every member of the Committee on Privileges and Elections. The Senator may be sure that we canvassed other ways, such as State legislation; that is, by having each State provide its own system; but that was found to be utterly futile. It would be necessary to have a session of the legislature of every State of the Union to enact special legislation, and then to consider reaching all the boys. They are not, as they used to be, gathered together in regiments by States. The famous Vermont regiment of former wars could be easily reached. Anyone in the State of Vermont knew where that regiment was all the time. In the old days ballots could have been delivered to that regiment for marking and casting. It cannot be done now. Our boys are scattered all over the world, in all arms of the service. In the administration of 48 different laws we would have the greatest confusion in the world, and meet with utter futility. As a matter of fact, under the law as it is today—the statute which we ourselves enacted—only 28,000 votes out of millions were collected.

Mr. MOORE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. AUSTIN. I yield.

Mr. MOORE. I was a member of the Committee on Privileges and Elections at the time the pending bill was being considered. I voted against the bill because I was certain that the bill was in violation of the Constitution. I was certain of that for many reasons. I inquired of the committee if there was any question in the minds of its members as to the constitutionality of the bill. I understood them to say that that question had been passed upon and that there was no question about it.

Mr. AUSTIN. Did the Senator understand me to say that?

Mr. MOORE. I do not know that the Senator said so, but that was my understanding. I am not attempting to quote anyone in particular.

I scarcely think it necessary in this country today for the motives of anyone to be challenged in the least concerning his attitude toward extending every privilege possible to the soldiers of this country. I am becoming tired of being told that a man who refuses to be in sympathy with a certain method of extending to the soldiers the privilege of voting is not in sympathy with the war and its successful conclusion.

Mr. President, so far as I am concerned, I hope I may never consciously vote for any law for the benefit of any citizen if I have the slightest doubt of its constitutionality. I shall never knowingly cast my vote to violate the Constitution. I want my thoughts to be constantly in reverence of the Constitution, and I want the soldiers to reverence the Constitution. I have no fear as to what the judgment of the soldiers will be if we conduct the affairs of this country in such a way as to maintain the Constitution for their benefit after the war shall have been won.

Mr. AUSTIN. That is fine. I approve of every man casting his vote according to the dictates of his own conscience, and I do not feel bound to justify my position on the pending measure, or any other measure, which I consider to be necessary or important for the preservation of the liberties of the people of the United States, for the protection of its territory from invasion, and for the ultimate saving of the Constitution, even to shedding blood.

Senators may argue the Constitution to me all they please—and I have no doubt I would gain much from listening to such arguments—but I shall never allow a debate over a constitutional question to palsy my arm in the defense of my country, and in the backing of my son and the sons of my colleagues, and all the people of this great country, in the gallant fight and great sacrifice they are making.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. TUNNELL in the chair). Does the Senator from Vermont yield to the Senator from New Mexico?

Mr. AUSTIN. I yield.

Mr. HATCH. The Senator has just referred to the question of the poll-tax provision in connection with the pending bill. It happens that on the poll-tax question the Senator from Vermont and I are again in accord. We both believe it beyond the power of Congress to pass the so-called anti-poll-tax bill, which does been pending before our committee, and now is on the calendar. We both voted the same way in the committee. But we believe the particular measure now pending is to be enacted under the wartime powers, and that they give a measure of constitutionality to the measure which the other bill does not possess. Am I correct in that?

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, I have not even stuck my stakes on that. I say that the importance of the pending

measure overshadows the debate on the other question, and that I will not permit it to interfere with my thought, my belief, and my effort to see that, by the wisest effort we can devise, we afford opportunity to the servicemen to cast their ballots. Therefore I do not pass upon that question, any more than the distinguished witness, Charles Warren, did. Does the Senator recall his testimony?

Mr. HATCH. Yes.

Mr. AUSTIN. This very point was raised. Here is a law today, with this section in it. The Senate voted for it, nearly all Senators voted for it, though some voted against it. Mr. Warren was asked, "Do you consider the act under which we are functioning today to be constitutional?" He said, "The war powers of the Congress are so expanded and extended today, by necessity, that I am unwilling to pass upon that question at this moment." I do not feel bound to pass upon it.

Mr. HATCH. Will the Senator yield further?

Mr. AUSTIN. I yield.

Mr. HATCH. I asked my question merely to emphasize the thought which the Senator has just brought out. I may point out also that even as to that particular provision a majority of our committee disagreed with the Senator and me and they think that is constitutional, even in peace times.

Mr. AUSTIN. Yes, Mr. President; that is true.

Mr. HATCH. What I wish to point out and emphasize is this thought: We talk about the Constitution. Everyone knows that in wartimes there are powers which are exercised by the Congress which would not be tolerated for a single moment in peacetimes. Practically all Senators have voted for legislation which in peacetimes would be clearly unconstitutional, price-fixing measures, O. P. A. bills, all such measures. Does the Senator think they would be constitutional in ordinary, normal peacetimes? Of course not. But, as the Senator ably pointed out, the necessities have brought out a power which comes from the Constitution itself, to defend and protect the country, a higher power than these other matters being discussed today. It is on those grounds that I support the pending measure, and I believe it to be constitutional.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, the Senator from New Mexico believes, I think, that there are powers which are superior to those expressed in the Constitution of the United States; does he not?

Mr. HATCH. In the written words, yes; but they are all implied in the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. AUSTIN. There are obligations which are not expressed in the Constitution of the United States and are not limited by the Constitution; are there not?

Mr. HATCH. Certainly; the Senator is correct; such as our Selective Service Act, and similar acts, all of them.

Mr. AUSTIN. I am through, Mr. President. I see that the hour of adjournment has arrived. Later I may



wish to discuss the amendment which I understand may be offered by the Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. President, I should like to make an observation, in view of the extraordinary turn the debate has taken. I would feel I was not discharging my full duty if I did not rise and say, as an humble Member of this body, that in my judgment there is no power in the Constitution, none whatever, to do anything in wartime that cannot be done whenever the conditions demanding the action arise. In other words, war does not suspend the Constitution, and war adds nothing to the American Constitution. So far as I am concerned, Mr. President, I think the whole argument might well be summarized by a suggestion that we amend the oath we take at the desk by saying that we will support the Constitution except in wartime.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, I offer an amendment, ask that it be read for the information of the Senate, and be printed and lie on the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be read for the information of the Senate.

The CHIEF CLERK. It is proposed to add at the end of the bill a new section, as follows:

Amendment intended to be proposed by Mr. TAFT to the bill (S. 1285) to amend the act of September 16, 1942, which provided a method of voting, in time of war, by members of the land and naval forces absent from the place of their residence, and for other purposes, viz: At the proper place in the bill add the following as a new section:

"Sec. . . The act of August 2, 1939, entitled 'An act to prevent pernicious political activities,' as amended, is hereby amended by adding thereto the following new sections:

"Sec. 22. It shall be unlawful for any officer, or person employed in the executive branch of the Federal Government, or any agency or department thereof, including the Army and the Navy, to deliver or cause to be delivered to persons in the armed forces of the United States any general communication, general order, Government magazine, Government newspaper, or other literature paid for in whole or in part with Government funds, or sponsored by the Government or any officer, agency, or department thereof, or to make, or cause to be made any broadcast to the armed forces of the United States, containing political argument or political propaganda of any kind designed or calculated to affect the result of any election for President, Vice President, Presidential elector, Member of the Senate, or Member of the House of Representatives: *Provided*, That nothing herein shall prevent the sending of any letter, magazine, newspaper, or other literature by any individual, corporation, or political committee to any member of the armed forces, addressed personally to such member of the armed forces, and paid for by him, or by the person sending the same: *Provided further*, That no such communication, order, magazine, newspaper, or other literature, and no such broadcast, shall be deemed to be in violation of this section if it is first submitted to the United States War Ballot Commission, and found by such Commission not to be in violation of the first paragraph of this section.

"Sec. 23. It shall be unlawful for any censor or other member of the executive branch of the United States Government to censor or interfere with any letter or communication addressed to an individual member of the armed forces for the purpose of removing therefrom political literature or

political arguments or other matter sent to such individual member of the armed forces by any individual, corporation, or political committee, unless such literature or other matter contains military information which may be of value to the enemy.

"Sec. 24. Any person who violates the provisions of section 22 or section 23 hereof shall upon conviction thereof be fined not more than \$1,000 or imprisoned for not more than 1 year, or both."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be printed and lie on the table.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I may suggest that I think there is complete agreement on the pending amendment, and I think it can be disposed of instantly if it were put to a vote, and thus we can save hours of time tomorrow by not starting discussion of the amendment over again.

Mr. BARKLEY. I have no objection to a vote being taken on the amendment if it does not require further debate.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I think everyone is agreed with respect to the amendment.

Mr. BARKLEY. What does the chairman of the committee say about it?

Mr. GREEN. Mr. President, will the Senator from Michigan state what the amendment deals with?

Mr. VANDENBERG. There are two parts to the amendment; first, to strike out the language with respect to action to be taken in the event of a tie vote, and an insertion of language requiring a majority vote of the remaining four members.

Mr. GREEN. I think it is very desirable to have the amendment acted upon and out of the way.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I do, also.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Michigan to the committee amendment on page 17, beginning in line 9.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

#### PERSONAL STATEMENT

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I had intended before the Senate recessed to call attention to what I regarded as a very unfair attack on Judge Fred Vinson and one of his assistants made by the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. LANGER] in remarks which the Senator made last Tuesday. Last Thursday I called the attention of the Senator from North Dakota to what I thought were these unfair remarks by him about Judge Vinson and one of his assistants, and the Senator asked me not to make my statement on that day. He said that if I would not do so he would in the meantime, over the week end, seek to make amends for what he had said by a suitable statement, and would submit it to me before putting it in the RECORD. I agreed to that. Then on Saturday, because he was leaving the city, the Senator asked me to mark the paragraphs of his speech to which I objected, and I did so this morning. Because I marked most of what he said as being objectionable, the Senator decided, I presume, not to say anything about it.

Mr. President, I shall not now take the time of the Senate to discuss the remarks the Senator from North Dakota made,

but I wish to state that as soon as I can obtain the floor tomorrow I wish to comment on what I regard as the unfair attack, unworthy of the Senator from North Dakota, upon Judge Vinson, made simply because the Senator did not agree with Judge Vinson's action in regard to certain matters upon which he had taken action since he assumed the position which he now holds.

I have always believed and now believe that it is possible to disagree with a man about anything that involves public policy without casting personal aspersions upon him or attempting to subject him to ridicule. If I had been present on the day the Senator from North Dakota delivered his remarks I would have challenged them at that time, but I had stepped out to lunch at a time when the Senator had offered an amendment, affecting radio, to the Bankhead bill, and under the guise of discussing the radio amendment he made this attack upon Judge Vinson and one of his assistants.

I wish to say to the Senator from North Dakota that I intend tomorrow, if I can obtain the floor for only a few minutes, to reply to what the Senator said in regard to these two citizens of my State—two outstanding public servants. I have no desire now to say more than I have just said.

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask only that the distinguished majority leader make his statement tomorrow while I am present. I wish to tell him now that I do not retract a single word. I wish to say further that the time has not yet come when upon the Senate floor the majority leader of the Democratic Party can tell me as a Republican from North Dakota, elected by the common people, what I shall say or shall not say, either about a man from the State of Kentucky or any other man in the United States of America.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, neither the Senator from Kentucky, nor anyone else whom I know, either wishes to or has the power to suppress the Senator from North Dakota in regard to anything he may want to say, whether it be fair or unfair, in regard to anybody from any State in the Union.

Mr. President, I thought I was courteous enough to the Senator from North Dakota to go to him personally and tell him that I objected to his remarks, and that I intended to comment upon them, and in response the Senator from North Dakota asked me not to do so until today; that he would have a statement to make which he said would be satisfactory to me, and which he would submit to me. He has not done that, and now I take my own course, but I wish to say that I will make my statement in the presence of the Senator from North Dakota.

#### REVIVAL OF NATIONALISM

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, I wish to consume the time of the Senate for a few brief observations. My subject this evening will be the revival of nationalism. However, before approaching the core of the subject I wish to make a few observations which are in a large sense related to nationalism.



I was one of the five members of the Senate who voted against the adoption of the Connally resolution, which was discussed in the Senate for several days by virtually every Member of the Senate. At this time I ask unanimous consent that Senate Resolution 192 be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

*Resolved*, That the war against all our enemies be waged until complete victory is achieved.

That the United States cooperate with its comrades-in-arms in securing a just and honorable peace.

That the United States, acting through its constitutional processes, join with free and sovereign nations in the establishment and maintenance of international authority with power to prevent aggression and to preserve the peace of the world.

That the Senate recognizes the necessity of there being established at the earliest practicable date a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, and open to membership by all such states, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security.

That, pursuant to the Constitution of the United States, any treaty made to effect the purposes of this resolution, on behalf of the Government of the United States with any other nation or any association of nations, shall be made only by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, I call particular attention to this paragraph of the resolution:

That the Senate recognizes the necessity of there being established at the earliest practicable date a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, and open to membership by all such states, large and small—

I emphasize the words "large and small"—

for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Mr. President, I opposed that resolution, as I said then, for the reason that I believed, among other things, that it was leading us into international power politics and entangling European alliances about which we know very little.

Mr. President, when I first came to this body in 1932 and served during the last lame-duck Congress under Mr. Hoover as President, when the Vice President was Mr. Curtis, I had as one of my distinguished colleagues the Honorable Cordell Hull, for whom I have the greatest respect and admiration, and as much love as one man can have for another. I heard him the other day in the Chamber of the House of Representatives speak at a joint session of the Congress when he reported to Congress concerning his trip to Moscow, where he conferred with representatives of several governments. At that time he stated, and I was very happy to hear him do so, that there were no secret agreements, and that none were suggested. I was in high hope that we would hear him say that he had made inquiry of those there present as to whether or not there had been any secret agreements made. Mr.

Hull in the body of his address in the House on Thursday stated in part:

In the principles and spirit of the Atlantic Charter and the declaration by United Nations.

I was glad to hear him mention the Atlantic Charter because during the discussion of the Connally resolution I submitted a substitute for the resolution which embodied the Atlantic Charter and the "four freedoms," which was, however, voted down by the Senate.

Mr. Hull proceeded to say in the body of his eloquent address to the Members of Congress the following, among other things:

To this end, the four governments declared that they "recognize the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states and open to membership by all such states, large and small."

Mr. President, I lay particular stress on that statement in the declaration. The principle of sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, irrespective of their size and strength, as partners in a future system of general security will be the foundation stone upon which the future international organization will be constructed; and it was concerning the principle contained in that utterance by the able Secretary of State that I sponsored, when the Senate was discussing the Connally resolution, an amendment providing for the freedom and the guaranty of political and territorial integrity of Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, Esthonia, Yugoslavia, and other nations which had been subjugated; but unfortunately this body did not accept the amendments guaranteeing the freedom of those countries.

So, Mr. President, I now come to an article by Mr. Constantine Brown, published on November 20 in the columns of the Washington Evening Star. In the article Mr. Brown states, in discussing the Moscow Conference, the following:

#### HULL IGNORES OMINOUS SIGN IN EUROPE (By Constantine Brown)

The warm reception given by the Members of Congress to their former colleague and now the very distinguished Secretary of State Hull was well earned.

For many years Mr. Hull has been battling for a world in which the wolf and the lamb would become bedfellows.

At one time he believed that by breaking down tariff barriers we could help the world toward the path of peace. This failed. In the years preceding the war he attempted to bring about universal peace by reciprocal trade agreements. This scheme also failed.

Now the Secretary believes that the Moscow protocols are the answer to world peace. Being a man who thinks that deceit and old-fashioned diplomacy no longer have a place in a world which has suffered from the ills of the war, Mr. Hull naturally is convinced that world diplomacy now is patterned after his own thoughts—honest and upright—and that a given word is a solemn bond which cannot be broken.

#### TROUBLE BREWS

So convinced is the Secretary that strife-ridden Europe has turned a new page and for the first time in its hundreds of years of history will become an element of peace and order in the world that he glosses over the ominous indications which already have be-

gun to pour into Washington from across the Atlantic.

To his mind the pacts signed in Moscow have more than a moral value. They are, in his opinion, as binding as a decision of the Supreme Court.

Yet, hardly was the ink on these documents dry that uncomfortable reports began reaching the Capital.

For instance, *Izvestia*, the Moscow newspaper which is the sounding board of the Soviet Government, says that a confederation of smaller European states would be totally unacceptable to Moscow because it might assume the form of a cordon sanitaire against Russia and be an important tool in the hands of the Nazis. This, of course, could not be contradicted if the Nazis were allowed to remain a strong military power.

It was agreed in Moscow, however, that the Allies would fight until the Germans surrender unconditionally, and steps have been devised to pull all the teeth out of the mouth of the Nazi tiger. Consequently, there is little reason to fear that the small nations which have suffered so heavily at the hands of the Germans would become the dupes of the Reich.

It is recalled that a confederation of the smaller states, particularly by those in central and southeastern Europe, had been advocated by Prime Minister Churchill in one of his important speeches early this year in the House of Commons. When he talked about the future peace conference, he suggested that the smaller states should be represented by one member speaking in the name of one or more groups of these nations. The suggestion was welcomed in official Washington circles, and at that time there was no criticism from Moscow.

While William C. Bullitt was Ambassador in Paris, he gave an address urging the formation of such a confederation. At that time Russia could have interpreted this move as an attempt to establish a cordon sanitaire. She was then on the "suspect list" in Washington, London, and even in Paris.

#### RUSSIA IS SAVIOR

Today the Europeans look to Russia as their savior. Hence, Moscow's opposition to the formation of a confederation is interpreted in many quarters as an indication that she intends to gobble up territories which should remain independent under the demands of international justice, for which Mr. Hull has been fighting with such a vigor.

There appear to be other "incidents" which are creating an uneasy feeling among Washington observers. For instance, Mr. Hull declared at his first press conference that the Free Germany Committee, which had given Washington and London a severe headache, had been disbanded. It appears that its end had been only an offhand promise not incorporated in written agreement.

According to those who are privileged to read translations of the Russian broadcasts distributed for Russian consumption, the committee will remain as active as heretofore.

Everyone agrees that Mr. Hull's mission to Moscow has been a spectacular success. But, and there always seem to be butts in diplomatic exchange, the agreements have left so much room for personalized interpretation that it is feared that their practical application will not correspond with the spirit of disinterested collaboration which the Secretary found during his 2-week stay in the Soviet capital.

Mr. President, in further reference to matters international—and I am anything but an internationalist—I read a very able editorial which appeared in the columns of a recent issue of the New York Daily News. The editorial is entitled

"Learning Geography the Hard Way" and reads as follows:

#### LEARNING GEOGRAPHY THE HARD WAY

One thing you've got to say for this war: A lot of us are learning a lot of geography from it, even if we are learning it the hard and costly way.

We heard this week, for instance, for the first time in our lives that there is an island by the name of Lero. It is in the Dodecanese group off southwest Turkey, and it was grabbed by the British and Italians after Mussolini cracked up.

The general impression has been that the Allies now control the air over the Mediterranean. But this week the Germans whistled up enough air power from somewhere to take Lero back from the Allies, along with, according to the Germans, 3,000 British and 5,000 Italian troops.

In recent months, most of us have learned various things about Yugoslavia that few of us ever knew before. Most striking of these is that Yugoslavia is not a natural country, but a creation of the peace conference following World War No. 1. Its people are Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, and these groups hate one another.

When the Germans overran Yugoslavia, its young king, Peter II, declared for the Allies, left Yugoslavia, and joined Britain's collection of exiled rulers. King Peter's minister of war, Draja Mikhailovitch, stayed behind to stir up guerrilla war on the Axis.

Mikhailovitch's guerrillas are known as Chetniks. An American woman, Ruth Mitchell (sister of the late Gen. Billy Mitchell), joined this outfit in April 1941, and served for about 4 months as one of its intelligence officers.

Mikhailovitch became quite a hero all over the allied world, but presently we began to hear stories of another Yugoslav guerrilla chief named Josip Broz, but affectionately known as Tito. Tito, according to liberal thinkers, is the McCoy, and Mikhailovitch is secretly an Axis sympathizer. Mikhailovitch shows his love for the Axis by blowing up German troop trains, destroying strategic bridges, raiding Axis-held cities for supplies for his men, and doing various similar things which we should think would make the Germans wonder sometimes.

Tito, it turns out, fought on the Communist side in the Spanish civil war, and his guerrilla bands—Partisans—are made up largely of Communists. The Partisans and the Chetniks fight one another as fiercely as both fight the Germans. Communist and liberal organs here and elsewhere, never miss a chance to smear Mikhailovitch.

Then, too, we are learning things about the South Seas that few of us ever knew before.

#### SOME LESSONS FROM THE WAR

All kinds of interesting new names of islands keep turning up in the dispatches—Guadalcanal to start with, then New Guinea, New Georgia, New Britain, New Ireland, Choiseul, Bougainville, Vella Lavella, and Rendova. We're even coming to know the names of some of the mid-Pacific islands the League of Nations mandated to Japan after the other war—Jaluit, Truk, Makin, Ponape, Marcus, Wotje, Saipan.

We're learning something of the quaint (to us) habits of some of the natives; cannibalism, for instance.

All this knowledge, as we say, is coming to us the hard way. These geography lessons are being paid for in the blood and sweat of more and more of our best young men, and in the toll and tears of more and more of us at home.

Nobody can say how long we shall continue this course in world-wide geography. Super-optimists hope the German course will be completed by Christmas and the Japanese course by late 1944 or early 1945; the more

pessimistic offer longer estimates, ranging all the way into 1949.

Sooner or later we may learn an over-all lesson from these isolated pieces of information we pick up as our boys slog through the poisonous jungles of the South Seas and the malarial boot of Italy, leaving dead pals behind them.

That lesson would be that we are not fitted, by either temperament or experience, to become the boss nation of a world-wide empire. We haven't been able to make the Filipinos, Puerto Ricans, or Virgin Islanders over in our own image in years of trying; we haven't the heart to be hardballed about colonies and squeeze money out of them. We're different from the Chinese, the Russians, the Fiji Islanders, and Yugoslavs, and vice versa, and no one world-wide system of government would suit all of us.

If we learn this lesson, it may be worth its colossal cost.

Mr. President, I come now to the subject: The revival of nationalism. Several days ago I was delighted, pleased, and enthused when I received at my desk a letter from a friend in the State of New York who had forwarded to me an article by Mr. George E. Sokolsky, who writes a daily column under the heading "These Days." The subject of that day's column was the Revival of Nationalism. I shall not take the time of the Senate to read the entire article, but I wish to read one paragraph:

It is curious that many of those who admire the Russians, the Yugoslavs, the French, the Chinese for their nationalism, despise this very quality in our own people. Praising it in others, they denounce it in us.

Mr. President, I ask that at this point in the RECORD the entire article by Mr. Sokolsky be printed, because it relates to American nationalism, and I am interested in that subject, because I state with pride and without the slightest hesitation that I am an American nationalist. I believe in America first. I believe we should give more attention and more time to the matters of vital interest to the American people instead of giving so much time in concerning ourselves with the problems of the peoples of the other parts of the world.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### THE REVIVAL OF NATIONALISM

(By George E. Sokolsky)

The new spirit out of Russia that is moving the world, an unwilling world, to perhaps a begrudging admiration is nationalism—love of country. The revival of Russia's ancient heroes, of interest in Russian history, the pride at the recapture of the mother city, Kiev, are the response of a people to the call of their own soil. Yugoslavia has, throughout this war, Chetnik and Partisan, dreamed of freedom for Yugoslavia, for Croat and Slovene and Serb. That is nationalism. The Free French movement is the nationalistic soul of Joan of Arc speaking in twentieth-century accents.

In China, nationalism has been struggling against feudalism for half a century, but never more intensely than today. The Chinese love for China is reasserting itself with overpowering persistence, with a fervor and strength that no disappointment, no disillusionment, no corruption, no internal strife can destroy.

And so the course of the war moves in all countries as victory approaches, nationalistic fervor intensifies. As the day of settlement

shines ahead, love of country becomes the most potent, the most assertive of emotions. That will be true in the United States as in all countries.

It is curious that many of those who admire the Russians, the Yugoslavs, the French, the Chinese for their nationalism, despise this very quality in our own people. Praising it in others, they denounce it in us. Honoring patriotism when it appears afar, they hurl humiliations upon it here. It is a phenomenon in confused thinking. It is all right for Russians to love the soil of Russia, but it is all wrong for Americans to love the soil of America. Here this noblest of human virtues is degraded into chauvinism, into a narrow isolationism. Who can understand such logic? Or, is it logic? Is it not rather an unwillingness to accept the reality that patriotism is the only ideal for which men will, in the mass of an army, give their lives—our men as well as those of Russia, Yugoslavia, France, and China?

Of course, there are men and women who accustom themselves to parts of the world other than their native lands, but there is a homing pull, a force of gravity as true in the spirit of man as in the physical world that forces them to remember not only the land of their birth, but the lands of their ancestors. I recall more than a quarter of a century ago listening to Talcott Williams of Columbia's School of Journalism speak on the homing instinct of man. And he knew. His father was a missionary in Syria; his uncle was perhaps the greatest missionary scholar America ever sent to China. Talcott Williams was born in Syria, but his spirit turned ever to the America where his forebears were buried. And yet, whenever he and I spoke of the lands in the East, Syria and Palestine, where he was born and where my philosophy of life originated, there was always an overtone of love for the land of birth as for the land of more distant origin.

No normal person can separate himself from these influences which are not of the mind but of the spirit. And that explains the British power in the American consciousness. It is language, ancestry, religion. These qualities are more sure than politics and the reasoned dialectics by which anything can be proved. A nationalistic American can never misunderstand a nationalistic anyone else. He grasps that what appears to be selfish is really idealistic; that what seems to be narrow egotism is patriotism.

I could quarrel with Russia's communism and internationalism, but I cannot quarrel with Russia's nationalism. When the Russian speaks of the greatness of his own land, its thousand years of history, the beauty of its gloomy differentiation, I admire him and match what he says with strong words of the achievements of America over three centuries on this continent, of the glories of personal liberty, of our free institutions, of our high standard of living, of our initiative in material improvements, of our respect for God by respecting all God's children of whatever kind. That is nationalism. It is a force that makes for human ennoblement.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, while speaking of American nationalism, let me say that prior to the time when we became engaged in the present war, I, together with other Senators, voted against the repeal of the arms embargo. We voted against the repeal of the neutrality act. We voted against the lend-lease bill. We voted against those various bills because we believed they were steps toward war, whereas other Senators who did not share our opinion, and who voted for those bills believed they were steps away from war.

We who voted against the repeal of the arms embargo, against the repeal of the



neutrality act, and against the lend-lease bill were smeared by the employment of the word "isolationists." I contend, Mr. President, that there never was any such person as an isolationist. We were simply American nationalists. We are not isolationists. The fact is that there is no such person as an isolationist in this country. We are American nationalists. To the best of anyone's knowledge there is no such person in the United States as an isolationist, for an isolationist would be one who demands the abandonment of the Monroe Doctrine, the cessation of all commercial intercourse with other countries, and the recall of our entire diplomatic staff. Has anyone heard any reasonable person advocating such a policy? Of course not. All that is recommended is that the United States of America continue to follow the course which during the past 150 years has been the chief factor in its growth from 13 weak colonies into a mighty Nation. Yes; we are American nationalists, and proud of it, which means America for Americans.

#### DEATH OF REPRESENTATIVE HENRY B. STEAGALL

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the following resolution (H. Res. 361) from the House of Representatives, which was read:

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, U. S.,  
November 22, 1943.

*Resolved*, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. HENRY B. STEAGALL, a Representative from the State of Alabama.

*Resolved*, That a committee of 10 Members of the House with such Members of the Senate as may be joined be appointed to attend the funeral.

*Resolved*, That the Sergeant at Arms of the House be authorized and directed to take such steps as may be necessary for carrying out the provision of these resolutions and that the necessary expenses in connection therewith be paid out of the contingent fund of the House.

*Resolved*, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

*Resolved*, That as a further mark of respect the House do now adjourn.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I send to the desk a resolution, which I ask to have read, and for which I ask present consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution will be read.

The resolution (S. Res. 209) was read, considered by unanimous consent, and unanimously agreed to, as follows:

*Resolved*, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of Hon. HENRY B. STEAGALL, late a Representative from the State of Alabama.

*Resolved*, That a committee of four Senators be appointed by the President of the Senate to join the committee appointed on the part of the House of Representatives to attend the funeral of the deceased Representative.

*Resolved*, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Under the second resolving clause the Presiding Officer appointed Mr. BANKHEAD, Mr. HILL, Mr. McCLELLAN, and Mr. AIKEN the committee on the part of

the Senate to attend the funeral of the deceased Representative.

#### DEATH OF REPRESENTATIVE J. WILLIAM DITTER

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the following resolution (H. Res. 362) from the House of Representatives, which was read:

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, U. S.,

November 22, 1943.

*Resolved*, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. J. WILLIAM DITTER, a Representative from the State of Pennsylvania.

*Resolved*, That a committee of 10 Members of the House, with such Members of the Senate as may be joined, be appointed to attend the funeral.

*Resolved*, That the Sergeant at Arms of the House be authorized and directed to take such steps as may be necessary for carrying out the provision of these resolutions and that the necessary expenses in connection therewith be paid out of the contingent fund of the House.

*Resolved*, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

*Resolved*, That as a further mark of respect the House do now adjourn.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President, I feel that I cannot let this day go by without rising to say a few words on behalf of my esteemed friend the Honorable J. WILLIAM DITTER, who fell to his death last night in a tragic airplane crash in the State of Pennsylvania.

The untimely passing of this man, in the very flower of his life, will be deeply mourned by all those who knew him, for with his passing, the Congress has lost one of its outstanding Members, the people of Pennsylvania have lost a faithful and an earnest Representative, and the Republican Party has lost an ardent and a fearless standard bearer.

Representative DITTER was above all else a straightforward American citizen, a sincere and tireless servant of the American people, in whose cause and whose behalf he was always proud to labor and to serve.

Mr. President, the inspiring example of service and honor which was J. WILLIAM DITTER will long outlive the earthly years of a life which he willingly gave to the public service and to the progress and stability of the America which he loved.

I send to the desk a resolution, which I ask to have read, and for which I ask present consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution will be read.

The resolution (S. Res. 210) was read, considered by unanimous consent, and unanimously agreed to, as follows:

*Resolved*, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of Hon. J. WILLIAM DITTER, late a Representative from the State of Pennsylvania.

*Resolved*, That a committee of five Senators be appointed by the President of the Senate to join the committee appointed on the part of the House of Representatives to attend the funeral of the deceased Representative.

*Resolved*, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Under the second resolving clause the Presiding Officer appointed Mr. DAVIS, Mr. GUFFEY, Mr. SCRUGHAM, Mr. BUCK,

and Mr. BUSHFIELD the committee on the part of the Senate to attend the funeral of the deceased Representative.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the two late Members of the House, Messrs. STEAGALL and DITTER, I move that the Senate take a recess until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

The motion was unanimously agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 35 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until tomorrow, Tuesday, November 23, 1943, at 12 o'clock noon.

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1943

The House met at 12 o'clock noon, and was called to order by the Speaker.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Eternal Father, strong to save, as we pause at Thy altar, do Thou hear our prayer. Bless us with minds calmed and fortified by moments of withdrawal and communion. Let our words come from fountains of personal rectitude folding away doubts and difference. Not one wise word ever loses its force, not one pure enthusiasm ever failed, nor one sacrifice ever came to nought.

Increase the power of our faith in orderly government and our trust in the events of Thy providence. Impress us that there is no satisfaction comparable to that of duty wisely performed and no regret like the consciousness of opportunities lost and wasted. Grant that all ills and evils which come from discord and misunderstanding may be subdued and the ways which lead to wisdom and harmony be kept open. Dear Lord, banish all narrowness of vision and every thought of expediency and strengthen us in our deliberations with the sense of proportion, ever guarding us against the consuming weakness of avarice and ambition.

Heavenly Father, how great are Thy mysteries, and Thy ways are past finding out. Thy voice is heard in inscrutable depths of human experience, in solemn warning, and we bless Thee that it is heard in the aspirations which lead to the paradise of the soul. We pause. A double alarm is at our door, and there is no response. Two of our most capable public servants have left us. They had the respect and the admiration and the love of all their colleagues.

"Should swift death this night o'ertake us,

And our couch become our tomb,  
May the morn in heaven awake us,  
Clad in light and deathless bloom."

In our Saviour's name. Amen.

#### THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the Journal of the proceedings of Friday, November 19, 1943, will be considered read and approved.

There was no objection.

#### TAX BILL

Mr. CLARK, from the Committee on Rules, submitted the following privileged resolution (H. Res. 360, Rept.



No. 878), which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed:

*Resolved*, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 3687) to provide revenue, and for other purposes, and all points of order against said bill are hereby waived. That after general debate, which shall be confined to the bill, and shall continue not to exceed 2 days, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Ways and Means, the bill shall be considered as having been read for amendment. No amendment shall be in order to said bill except amendments offered by direction of the Committee on Ways and Means, and said amendments shall be in order, any rule of the House to the contrary notwithstanding. Amendments offered by direction of the Committee on Ways and Means may be offered to any section of the bill at the conclusion of the general debate, but such amendments shall not be subject to amendment. At the conclusion of the consideration of the bill for amendment the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion, except one motion to recommit.

#### THE LATE HENRY B. STEAGALL

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, it becomes my sad and painful duty to announce to the House the untimely end of one of the greatest and most gallant spirits who has ever served in this body, the Honorable HENRY B. STEAGALL, of the Third Alabama District. In my brief tenure here, I have learned to love and respect him profoundly for his qualities of heart and soul and for the qualities of leadership and service he has exhibited in this body during the past 30 years. I offer a resolution (H. Res. 361), and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read as follows:

*Resolved*, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. HENRY B. STEAGALL, a Representative from the State of Alabama.

*Resolved*, That a committee of 10 Members of the House with such Members of the Senate as may be joined be appointed to attend the funeral;

*Resolved*, That the Sergeant at Arms of the House be authorized and directed to take such steps as may be necessary for carrying out the provision of these resolutions and that the necessary expenses in connection therewith be paid out of the contingent fund of the House;

*Resolved*, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, Alabama is proud of HENRY B. STEAGALL and the stainless reputation he has made in this body. In his passing the State and the Nation have lost an invaluable public servant, one whose heart-beat was attuned to the needs of what he so often tenderly referred to as "the little men and women of America."

He was elected to the Sixty-fourth Congress and has served continuously since that date. He has served in the House of Representatives longer than any other Member of the House from the

State of Alabama. He has been chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency of this great body longer than any other Member in the history of that committee. The type of his service can best be indicated by a mere recitation of some of the legislation of national import which he has sponsored as a Member of this body and as chairman of that great committee. He was author or joint author of some of the most outstanding pieces of legislation enacted by the American Congress during the past decade, among which were the Reconstruction Finance Corporation Act, the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, United States Housing Authority, Federal Housing Authority, Office of Price Administration, Commodity Credit Corporation and many others.

A mere recitation of the legislation which he has sponsored indicates his love and his concern for what you and I call the average man. The home life of America, the system of government of America, and the way of life of America he believed in with all his heart and soul. He dedicated his life not only to their preservation, but also to their improvement. Brave in heart, eloquent in voice, and sweet in spirit he has gone forth from these Halls to meet his Maker unafraid. He carries with him a record meriting the approval of his colleagues and of his friends with whom he served so long and so devotedly. Of greater moment, however, he also merits the approval of that just and great Judge who must pass upon the lives and characters of all of us and mete out to us our reward.

Mr. Speaker, I hope at some other date to pay a more appropriate tribute to this great American, this great Alabamian whom all of us loved so dearly and so sincerely. To the members of his family we extend our love and our sympathy.

THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE,  
Washington, November 22, 1943.

The Honorable SAM RAYBURN,  
Speaker of the House of Representatives,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: I have just been advised of the untimely passing of HENRY B. STEAGALL, chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee of the House of Representatives.

It has been my privilege to appear before Chairman STEAGALL's committee for legislation affecting the Reconstruction Finance Corporation for the past 10 years, and for 6 years in connection with legislation for the Commodity Credit Corporation. During this time I have appeared before his committee a great many times, and invariably I have found him courteous, intelligent, considerate, understanding, and helpful.

In my view, no man in Congress has been more faithful to his constituents and to all the people of the United States than HENRY STEAGALL, and in his passing at this critical period in our history, the Congress suffers an irreparable loss.

Sincerely yours,

JESSE H. JONES,  
Secretary of Commerce.

Mr. Speaker, I now yield to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HOBBS].

Mr. HOBBS. Mr. Speaker, all over the world today men are dying heroically. Of that number is HENRY B. STEAGALL. With head unbowed and the smile that we all knew and loved upon his lips, and

in his eyes, he walked into the jaws of death here Thursday. None of us knew that the Grim Reaper had already seized the muscles of his heart the day before. None of us knew that he came here knowing what he was doing after taking the medicine his physician prescribed to keep the "old pump" going.

He came here and he spoke in this Well, knowing what he was doing to himself, but like the man he was and is, it made no difference to him if that exertion in fealty to the cause he had espoused meant death. He felt the call of duty and he responded. Of such is the roll of heroes composed. This man in the midst of the fight to which duty called him, as he saw it, went down in the unequal struggle, erect and smiling with the consciousness of duty well done spurring him on to the last drop of the precious lifeblood that went through that vital organ.

So it is that on this black Monday for the House of Representatives two of its distinguished Members are being bemoaned. Two brilliant intellects, two choice spirits, two leaders of men, who followed the gleam, as they saw it, with honor and fidelity to the end. They kept the faith.

Today we are doubly bereaved. Today there is not a man nor a lady in this House who is not bowed with a sense of the weight of their respective griefs, as they knew these men. There is no need to ask the question, with regard to either of them, which has been asked so often since King David first propounded it: "Know ye not that there is a prince and a great man fallen this day in Israel?" We know. Those of us who have the honor and the privilege of calling Alabama home, know HENRY B. STEAGALL not merely as a rare public servant and statesman, but also as a great lover of humanity. The fox hounds in his kennels whine and mourn today, for he loved them. Everything within the compass of human interest was dear to him. And no man was too poor, nor humble, to be outside the sweep of his affection. He hated none. He was friend of all.

As a public servant there was no better prosecutor than HENRY STEAGALL, to whom in the pristine days of his career his profession looked for leadership at the bar. Yet, there never was a criminal before the bar of justice in the circuit in which he prosecuted who did not pay tribute to his fairness as well as to his ability and vigor as a prosecutor.

Having shuffled off that coil of official duty, he came here, and here he made his mark. Talk about memorials and monuments, could any man claim as a legislator any greater memorial or monument than that act which he passed after 20 years of almost lone effort, providing for the guaranty of small deposits in our banks? For he was the father as well as the sponsor on this floor of the bill guaranteeing bank deposits. He was one of the moving spirits in the creation of the Federal Reserve Banking System. Through this House and from this Well he has championed and piloted probably more of the measures that have meant much to the rank



and file of our citizenry than any other one man.

Therefore, we hail him today, in sadness, out of the depths of our gloom and grief, as a leader, a real statesman, and as a friend! Truly, as my distinguished colleague already has said, Alabama is proud of him.

So in many an humble cottage, in many a marble hall, we are joined today in our profound grief by 130,000,000 sons of Uncle Sam, who realize not only that a worthy statesman has written a glorious obituary in the law of his land, not only that a brilliant Member of Congress has fallen bravely, leading a fight, but also, and more poignantly, that their friend, a friend of man, has walked smiling and unafraid into that which some call a grave, but which others, with more vision, call a door of opportunity for higher service!

We all with one accord pay tribute to such a life. There is not a man nor lady in this body, if one there be in America, who will not wish him Godspeed in the new work he began today at 9:45, for it is inconceivable that the amassed wisdom of his years of ripe experience in leadership should be unavailing in the new career which he has taken up. So one and all of us bow respectfully to the edict of the Supreme Judge of the universe and we say, "So long, HENRY, God bless you. We'll be seeing you."

As he looks back over his shoulder with the smile that we last saw Thursday from this Well he is saying, "Friends, forget me. Close ranks! Forward march!"

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK].

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, the House is always deeply moved and saddened in the passing of any one of our colleagues. Today the House is profoundly moved and saddened in the passing on of two of our beloved and distinguished colleagues, both of whom died in the line of duty.

HENRY STEAGALL, my personal friend, whose memory will always linger with me throughout the remaining days of my journey through life, was a leader in this body for many years. Gentle in his dealings with his colleagues and fellow men, a deep student of political science and of our constitutional system of government, he was a leader among men. Occupying a powerful position in this body, he always exercised the great power that he possessed as a trust. This is a government of laws, not of men. HENRY STEAGALL exemplified in his service in this House a deep reverence for this fundamental basis for a worldly angle on which our Government is erected.

It was only last Thursday, as the distinguished gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HOBBS] well said, that our late colleague was valiantly performing his duty in the Well of the House and on the floor of the House, engaging in active debate, with the knowledge of his physical condition, and the probable knowledge that the strain of debate might aggravate his condition and precipitate his death. Many important laws now on the statute books are a tribute to his memory, and a

great contribution to the progress of our country. Truly he died as he lived, in the performance of his duty.

I know that all of my colleagues join with me in expressing and conveying to the near and dear loved ones that he has left behind our profound feelings of sympathy in their great loss and sorrow, and all of my colleagues join with me in extending to the Alabama delegation our deep sympathy in their bereavement, and the expression of our profound sympathy to the people of the congressional district of our late colleague, and also to the people of the State of Alabama in the loss of this great son of Alabama, this great American.

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I yield now to the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. BROWN].

Mr. BROWN of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, we were all shocked to hear of the sudden passing of our beloved colleague, the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. STEAGALL]. I am glad that this body paid him such a deserved and fine tribute on his last appearance before us on Thursday last. He was courageous, honest, honorable, and one of the outstanding men of his State, and the Nation. The country has lost a most valuable statesman, and the American farmer his best friend.

His life battle has been won in behalf of the little fellow, so to speak, and made it possible for the small depositors of America to have a safe place in which to keep their money.

He had no enemies, was charitable in his dealings with all, and led a life of usefulness in public service.

As chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee, he understood all proposed legislation brought to his committee. He had the confidence of and was held in the highest esteem by all the members of the committee.

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I yield now to the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MARTIN].

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I join with the delegation from Alabama and the membership of the House in paying tribute to a great statesman, HENRY STEAGALL, whose untimely death occurred this morning. It has been my privilege to have engaged his friendship for 20 years. I know of his outstanding abilities, and the great contributions he has made to the legislation of his country. He was the author of many acts which were of great benefit to the people. Men like HENRY STEAGALL are sadly missed, and we do well to honor the memory of one who served his country and the people so well. His life, his fine personality, and his outstanding character were an inspiration to us and we shall ever remember him with fond memories. I express my personal regret at the untimely loss of this great American and to his family I give my sincere sympathy.

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Michigan [Mr. WOLCOTT].

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, we are always humble in the presence of the

Grim Reaper. Today, because of this double shock, we are peculiarly humble.

Two great men have been called from this body today, for what reason it is not given us to know. Because of the faith which we have been taught we cannot believe that these great men have been taken from us except for a broader and more important service. HENRY STEAGALL has been chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee for over 10 years. He was one of the most lovable men with whom I have ever come in contact. In 1933 when I first became associated with him on the committee, he was peculiarly tolerant of my mistakes, my lack of knowledge of the legislation which that great committee was constantly called upon to consider. He took me under his wing, and I dare say that I speak for most of the members of that committee when I say that they have truly gone to school, to a great schoolmaster. Character is something that is not always apparent to a casual observer. You cannot always see it. It has been said that character is what a man really is, that reputation is merely what others think he is. HENRY STEAGALL was of great and noble character, and he likewise enjoyed not only in his home State of Alabama, not only in this body, who knew him so well, but throughout the Nation a splendid reputation for honesty, intelligence, and ability.

I recall so well several more important instances in his life. It has been mentioned here that he was the sponsor, the father of a bill which has done more to stabilize banking and currency and credit than any other action which this Congress has ever taken. He told me of the history of the Federal Deposit Insurance Act, how when he first came to Congress, I believe, in 1913, or 1914, he came here with a firm determination that if people were to continue to put their little savings into banks, he felt that the greatest service that he could be to them was to assure that they were going to get these hard-earned savings back when they were needed. So for a good many years he dreamed of the day when the banks of this Nation would be safe. This proved to all of us that HENRY B. STEAGALL was a great humanitarian. He was criticized; I have criticized him. We disagreed frequently on issues; we disagreed honorably and honestly. HENRY B. STEAGALL never in the Committee on Banking and Currency and never in his life ever did a small thing. He was a great man. He was a big man, spiritually and intellectually, and this House is going to mourn his loss, but our sadness is going to be softened somewhat by the appreciation of the fact that he has been called to a greater service.

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. CRAWFORD].

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Speaker, as I have journeyed through life it has been my privilege to intimately associate with men much older than I am. This was true with the distinguished gentleman from Alabama whose death we mourn today. As chairman of our committee, I was extremely close to him and I mean



to say by that, that I was closer to Mr. STEAGALL than I am to any other House Member. We found that we had many things in common, not only with respect to legislative matters upon which we agreed or disagreed, but with respect to the social, religious, and economic philosophy in which each of us believed and which plays such a great part in the lives of our people in this free country of the United States. As late as last Friday afternoon I implored him to stay away from this body and to let the other Members of the House finish the debate on the bill that was under consideration and upon which he spoke Thursday afternoon. I had known about his physical failing. Only a few days ago we discussed very intimately some of his future hopes and plans with respect to public life.

In other words, I had confidence in Mr. STEAGALL and he trusted me in connection with matters which came before us. Of course, I shall miss him in the days to come as long as I am a Member of this body and particularly as a member of the committee on which he served as chairman. In the years to come I shall remember his ability, his accomplishments, his constructiveness, his Christian character, and all that he stood for, and in my memory I shall cherish his friendship.

And Mr. Speaker, let me say that I, too, join with my colleagues in their eulogy of that great friend and citizen, the gentleman from Pennsylvania, whose tragic death occurred last evening. We shall miss him as a great Republican, as a statesman of the first order, as chairman of the Republican Congressional Committee, as an exceptionally capable lawyer, and as an outstanding Christian gentleman. It was my privilege, Mr. Speaker, to break bread with Mr. DITTER and his family in their lovely home at Ambler, Pa., to worship at the family altar with our departed friend and his charming wife and his legally trained, captivating daughter, who is an unusual legal-daughter-partner of an extraordinary father. To have had the privilege of being a guest in his Christian home, to walk about his gardens with him, and to visit in his district among his friends and supporters was a method of taking a measure of the man which we cannot exactly do here on the House floor. He, his family to whom he was so greatly devoted, and the atmosphere of his home was an inspiration to any American whose fortune it might have been to have known them.

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CANNON].

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, in the midst of life we are in death. Only yesterday a great leader stood in this forum and proclaimed his tenets with a fervor and sincerity that carried conviction to his listeners. And when he yielded the floor at the close of one of the greatest speeches of his notable career, we did not realize that his work was done, that the imprint of immortality was

already on his brow. Standing in dazed groups this morning we can only wonder helplessly why with so many about who would not have been missed he should have been called—why he could not have been spared the one more day to witness the culmination of long years of study and fevered months of strenuous work on one of the great problems of our times.

He fell on his shield; in the hour of triumph; and with his face to the front. With all his kindliness he was a man of rarest courage, a courage which could not be stilled or hushed by flattery or sentimental appeal or intimidation. Few can realize the pressure brought to bear upon him these last harried days in the effort to swerve him from the course he felt was right.

It is to be regretted that it could not have been vouchsafed to him to survive this war, as he survived the last war, and to see again as he saw then the universal acquiescence in his program and its successful and beneficent conclusion. In the trying days of 1932, against the determined opposition of financiers and economists, and in contravention of every canon of political expediency, he drove the Federal deposit-insurance bill through the House and through conference to final enactment. Its service to the Nation today is only one of his many contributions to national financial stability. When the history of this war is written, his farsighted sagacity and keenly analytical programs in the drafting and management of measures which stabilized national banking and laid the foundation for the reservoirs of credit from which we have provided the sinews of war, will be recognized as one of the determining factors contributing to Allied victory.

But here, away from the limelight and among ourselves and all those privileged to be intimately associated with him, he will be remembered best for his capacity for friendship. His friendships were not those of a day but of an enduring character which strengthened and flowered with the years. Such men do not die. They pass on, but memory is eternal. And the memory of the life and services of HENRY STEAGALL lives on, hallowed and cherished by the gratitude and affection of the American people whom he so ably served.

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GIFFORD].

Mr. GIFFORD. Mr. Speaker, death's messenger is unwelcome, but will not be denied. This double reminder comes to me and it comes to you. We will ask ourselves, "Are we quite ready to receive Him"?

HENRY STEAGALL was my chairman for many years. It can be said he was a true gentleman; he never inflicted pain. His greatest desire, of course, like ours, was to earn and to hold the respect and love of his colleagues and his fellow men. He was assured that he had it. He does not need to read his tombstone when he is dead. Only recently a gathering was held in his office and unusual honors were heaped upon him. His

friends saw to it that his likeness was painted and hung in his committee room, so that we who remain and those who follow us may not forget to do him honor.

This double tragedy bears heavily upon us. I greatly admired my chairman, especially during this last week when he made a courageous stand for what he thought was right, although harassed and worried about his physical condition. He proved as he had often before done that he would stand firmly in his belief and would follow his conscience. I am reminded of words I saw only yesterday, "When the ermine of official robe fell on him it touched nothing less spotless than itself."

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SPENCE].

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, this is indeed a sad day for the Congress of the United States. It has proclaimed to us that in the midst of life we are in death. Two fine upstanding Members have traveled that road which to discover we must travel, too.

HENRY B. STEAGALL, chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency of the House, was a remarkable man. He had a peculiar knowledge and ability that made him a most useful legislator, who rendered an outstanding service to his country. He had an adroitness and skill in handling the bills of his committee that was seldom matched and never excelled. He was a man of great ability and profound knowledge of the matters that came before the Banking and Currency Committee. He made the best use of his long experience as chairman of that committee and used his wide experience and profound knowledge for the benefit of his constituents and the people of his country. Not only the Fifth District of Alabama, but the State and Nation has sustained a great loss.

After the speech he made on last Thursday he told me he was a sick man and had a fever. He was a casualty of duty performed and of the war. To his devoted family I desire to extend my deepest sympathy.

He fell like the mighty oak falls before the storm in the forest, with apparently many years of useful service before him. Why this should occur we do not know. God moves in a mysterious way.

We only know:

The moving finger writes; and having writ,  
Moves on; nor all your pitey nor wit  
Shall lure it back to cancel half a line,  
Nor all your tears wash out a word of it.

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN].

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, we are all greatly moved and affected by the passing of two of our most distinguished Members. I did not have the privilege of knowing so intimately Hon. WILLIAM DITTER, of Pennsylvania, but I did know him to be a good, fair, and able fighter; a good debater, and a fine statesman.

I did have the privilege of knowing and being intimately associated with Hon. HENRY B. STEAGALL, of Alabama, for 7 of



the last 15 years. During that time we have differed very little.

I presume that more bills and more constructive acts of legislation bear his name than the name of any other one person in either the House or the Senate today. The many acts are too numerous to name. I shall briefly mention a few. I refer to the banking legislation, especially during the dark days of this Republic in 1933, the numerous Glass-Steagall bills, the different pieces of currency legislation, farm legislation, housing, price stabilization, price fixing, and the F. D. I. C. with which his name is connected which has a history that can only now be told. Few people realize the influence he had upon the passage of that legislation, and the persistence and the determination with which he sponsored it. The plain people of this country had a real friend in HENRY STEAGALL, whose every heartbeat and pulse throb was always with them.

As chairman of our Committee on Banking and Currency in the House of Representatives he was always kindly, considerate, and sympathetic, and he was always extremely anxious to do exactly what he believed to be right. HENRY STEAGALL was a great statesman; he was one of the finest and best men I ever knew. He was gentle, kind, affable, courageous, always extremely fair, always, under all conditions. This country has suffered a great loss in his passing.

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the distinguished majority whip, the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. RAMSPECK].

Mr. RAMSPECK. Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues in mourning the passing of our two distinguished fellows who have left us to come no more. They were both able legislators, fine citizens, and men of great ability.

It was recently my privilege to visit the district of my friend and colleague, Mr. STEAGALL, at Napier Field in Dothan, Ala., where I have a son-in-law in the Army Air Forces. I found the people of his district devoted to him, interested in what he was doing, and believing in his ability and faithfulness to his duty here. HENRY STEAGALL was a man of rare ability and adroitness, and he handled the work of his committee in a way few men have been able to equal. We shall certainly miss both these men. The country has suffered a great loss.

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN].

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Speaker, I join with those others who have expressed their very high regard for our esteemed colleague, Mr. STEAGALL, who has today answered the call.

On last Thursday I sat in this Chamber along with the rest of you and heard that hour-long impassioned plea of his. Following that speech he came back behind the rail and talked to two or three of us. At that time he said: "I am a sick man. I have a temperature now. I should have stayed home in bed today as my family tried to get me to do." He knew he was sick, but it was that same loyalty and devotion to duty that char-

acterized his whole life, that drove him here on that day in the performance of his duty. I remember some of the things he said in that speech and I shall quote a couple of sentences from his concluding remarks, for they contain thoughts which I think characterize the man and describe him as the country must know him. He said:

I do not believe there is anybody in this House who knows me who thinks there is any sectionalism or bitterness in my soul. I do not believe those who know me credit me with selfish partisan purposes in my views respecting this or any other economic legislation.

Those characteristics were true of the man. He was big in every sense of the word; he was a friend always devoted to his friends, helpful at all times. I came here as a new Member and all along as a new and young and inexperienced Member I was pleased to learn from him. I remember the very fine friendship that existed between him and various other Members of the House, Members who had served as long a period of time as he. Many a time I heard him speak of the closeness that existed between him and some of the other Members of long service. Particularly am I thinking just now of the very fine brotherly relationship that existed between him and our late lamented Speaker Bankhead, of Alabama, two Members who had come here from the same State at about the same time and who had worked diligently together in all the years. I remember the zeal and interest with which he worked in behalf of Speaker Bankhead for the Vice Presidency of the United States; and I remember the tribute he paid him, I remember the nominating speech he made at the Chicago convention; and well do I recall the great grief which was his when Speaker Bankhead fell by the side in the performance of his duties.

HENRY STEAGALL was a great friend, a man who loved his fellow men. He was courageous, absolutely unwavering in his convictions as to what he believed was right. Mention has been made time after time of his fight on behalf of the Federal insurance of small deposits in banks. I remember being in a public meeting with him one time when some citizens of our State were passing on certain views to the Alabama delegation. I remember how when Mr. STEAGALL was called upon for some remarks he answered those people in a friendly manner and yet courageously.

I remember the story that he told them about his fight for the Federal Deposit Insurance Act, how the bankers in his own section had passed resolutions condemning him because of his stand for that legislation, but he believed it was right, and in the face of the opposition of some of his best friends he fought for the principle. He told how later those same bankers had come around to his view and begged him for mercy sake to pass that legislation quickly. I am glad that he lived to see the views that he held with reference to much of our fiscal affairs justified. I am glad that he lived to see millions of home owners in this

country saved in their homes by reason of the Home Owners Loan Corporation that he helped to establish, and millions of others placed in homes and saved from bankruptcy as the result of legislation that he sponsored and that he pushed through on the floor of this House.

He was a great man. We in Alabama are justly proud of him. Alabama and America have sustained a great loss in his passing. Death is not the end, and out there somewhere today, with the same courage and the same unwavering devotion and loyalty that marked him in life, he carries on his work.

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. RANKIN].

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, someone has said, "When sorrows come, they come not single spies, but in battalions."

The Grim Reaper that never tires, and never rests, has been busy at his appointed work. He has knocked upon the doors of two of the ablest and most distinguished Members of this body and called them to "the undiscover'd country from whose bourn no traveler returns."

Socrates contended that no good man should fear death; for, he said that if death is an endless sleep, as his enemies contended, then it was much to be preferred to a life of pain and toil; but he said that if he was correct in his belief in the immortality of the soul, then death was but a transition from this imperfect to that all-perfect, glorious and celestial realm above, over which the Supreme Ruler of the Universe presides.

Shakespeare quotes Julius Caesar as saying that "Cowards die many times before their deaths; the valiant never taste of death but once."

The two distinguished Members of this august body who passed away within the last 24 hours, HENRY B. STEAGALL, of Alabama, and J. WILLIAM DITTER, of Pennsylvania, never tasted death but once. They did not fear to go.

In the passing of Mr. DITTER, the news of whose death reached us first, we all received a most painful shock. I probably crossed swords with him as often as any other man in Congress, for the last few years and in so doing I always experienced—

The stern joy which warriors feel  
In foemen worthy of their steel.

BILL DITTER was a gentleman, a statesman and a patriot, who placed the welfare of his country above all personal and political concern.

In the passing of HENRY B. STEAGALL, I lost one of the best friends I ever had on this earth. The greatest compliment I ever received from any man came from Mr. STEAGALL with reference to a speech I made in this House on November 1, 1939, when I was appealing to the powers that be to pursue a course which I felt might save the world from the dreadful catastrophe through which we are now passing.

I shall not go into the records of these two distinguished men. They have been ably discussed by other Members who were more closely associated with

them in their daily work; but I will say that today America has sustained an irreparable loss in the passing of two of the most worthy, honorable, conscientious and distinguished Members of this august body.

From lives like these, America's greatness springs.

That makes her loved at home, revered abroad:

Princes and lords are but the breath of kings;

"An honest man's the noblest work of God."

They are gone but not forgotten. Their influences will live as their spirits will live on and on.

We are told of a death-devoted Greek who was about to offer up his life as a sacrifice to fate, when his beautiful companion turned to him and asked, "Shall we meet again?"

To which he replied: "I have asked that dreadful question of the hills that are eternal, of the clear streams that flow forever, of the stars amidst whose azure depths my raised spirits have walked in glory, yet they are dumb. But when I look into thy living, loving face, I see that which, mantling through its rich beauty, tells me it can never die. We shall meet again."

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. MANASCO].

Mr. MANASCO. Mr. Speaker, an All-wise Providence has seen fit to remove from this body one of Alabama's most beloved sons, "Marse" HENRY B. STEAGALL, as he was affectionately known, was serving his fifteenth consecutive term as a Member of this body and as chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee of the House he probably sponsored more progressive legislation and more legislation that affected the lives of every person in the United States than any other Member has sponsored in the long history of this body. He was a recognized authority on banking law. He was the champion of the under dog and it may be truthfully said that he died with his boots on fighting for the common man. No Member was more diligent in his effort to secure fair treatment for the people of his district. The farmers of the Nation recognized "Marse" HENRY as their strong and capable advocate. Alabama has lost an illustrious son, the Nation a great statesman.

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I am going to ask unanimous consent at this time that all Members who desire may extend their own remarks in the RECORD concerning the life and character of our late colleague, Mr. STEAGALL.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. STARNES]?

There was no objection.

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. SMITH].

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I want to join with the other Members of the House in mourning the loss of two of our most highly respected and trusted colleagues, Mr. HENRY B. STEAGALL and

Mr. J. WILLIAM DITTER, who have just passed on to the Great Beyond.

Mr. STEAGALL was chairman of my committee, the Committee on Banking and Currency. He was always considerate and fair. I shall not forget him for this alone. In his final efforts here on the floor of the House—I refer particularly to the speech he made last Thursday—I think he proved beyond all doubt that he was possessed of the finest integrity.

In my few years of association with Mr. DITTER I learned to honor and respect him. He seemed to be peculiarly sensitive to other people's feelings, taking care always never to hurt them. In the many speeches I heard him make on the floor he was always fair and honest, for which, I am sure, he was admired by all the Members of this body.

The Congress and the country have lost in the passing on of these splendid character, two valuable public servants.

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Maine [Mr. HALE].

Mr. HALE. Mr. Speaker, my sense of loss at the death of HENRY STEAGALL is out of all proportion to the extent of my association with him. He was older than I in years, and far older in service in this body. I was not of his party or of his State; nor was I ever privileged to serve on the committee over which he had so long presided with such great distinction. But it happens that in the last 6 months, I had in a fortuitous way spent some little time in his company, and I had conceived for him an extraordinary respect and admiration. No man whom I have met in this city has more impressed me by his character and convictions and by that blend of highly individual qualities which constitute what we know as personality.

"Mr. Henry," as I heard him affectionately called by his junior colleagues, was a man of mature wisdom. He was a conservative in the best sense, with a nature as humane and compassionate as the wildest radical or the most brilliant demagogue. The reception accorded last Thursday to his last speech in this House attested to the respect in which he was held. When he said, "I do not for a moment endorse the viewpoint or the philosophy of the controlling minds directing the administration of the O. P. A. Act," his hearers knew he meant it, and was not striving for a cheap political effect.

When he said, "Let a man get his hand into the Treasury of the United States, and do not ask me to find a way to get it out," he said nothing brilliant or original, but it was a wholesome farewell message of a man who knew the failings of a Government to which he had given the last full measure of his devotion.

No one who knew Mr. STEAGALL can doubt that he died fighting for his convictions. None of us could ask for life to end more nobly than his, or hope to leave a memory more gracious or more honorable.

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. NEWSOME].

Mr. NEWSOME. Mr. Speaker, there is little that I as a junior Member of this body could add to the eloquent tribute that has been paid to our two departed colleagues, but as the junior Member of the delegation from Alabama, I feel a sense of personal loss in the passing of HENRY B. STEAGALL that is probably as keen as that of anyone in this body. For his kindness, his tolerance, his understanding in my first year of service in this body, I will be eternally grateful. I think it is well that the people of this Nation should know as we know that HENRY STEAGALL died in line of duty in the service of this Republic.

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. WRIGHT].

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, it is with a profound sense of shock that I heard this morning of the death of two of the outstanding Members of the House, my late friend from Pennsylvania, Mr. DITTER, and the genial chairman of the committee on which I am privileged to serve, Mr. STEAGALL.

I think of the many instances of kindness and geniality that have endeared these two gentlemen to me. Indeed, their characters have endeared them to all the Members of the House, regardless of party and regardless of political belief. After our political quarrels and our differences over legislation are forgotten, we remember most of all those little instances of friendship and kindness which I feel bind all the Members here together.

I remember, for instance, that it was only a short time ago that we were congratulating Mr. DITTER on his birthday; only a short time ago that the friends of Mr. STEAGALL had a meeting in his office to express their love and affection for him. I remember, too, the address that was delivered by Mr. STEAGALL on last Thursday. It was a masterful address. Even we who disagreed with some of the conclusions he reached recognized that it was a masterful address and we congratulated him. It was at that time that he told us that he was feeling ill.

I am sure all the Members of the House today share the feeling of profound sorrow that I have.

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. COX].

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, as Carlyle said of Sir Walter Scott, "When he departed he took a man's life with him," I say of HENRY STEAGALL and BILL DITTER that when they departed each took a man's life with him. Nothing but heaven can cover their high fame, no pyramid offset their memory, nothing but the eternal substance of their greatness.

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from California [Mr. FORD], a member of the Committee on Banking and Currency.

Mr. FORD. Mr. Speaker, this is a black Monday in the history of this House, to come here and find that two of the outstanding Members of this body have passed to the great beyond. The passing of Mr. DITTER was a sad accident. The passing of Mr. STEAGALL was



the result of overexertion in his labors on the Committee on Banking and Currency at this very critical time.

As has been suggested by numerous other speakers, as chairman of that committee Mr. STEAGALL was adroit, clever, able, and persistent, and when he had a bill to bring out he never quit until he got it on the floor. Whether or not you agreed with him, he was genial, kindly, and forgiving of those who did not altogether go along with him.

Mr. Speaker, Alabama loses a distinguished son. Pennsylvania also loses a distinguished son. This House loses two of its most able and outstanding Members. They go to join that great company of "dead, yet sceptered sovereigns who still rule our spirits from their urns."

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. MAY].

Mr. MAY. Mr. Speaker, in this dark hour of world tragedy the House of Representatives assembles today for the purpose of paying tribute to two of its most distinguished Members. The Grim Reaper has struck this day not one but two deadly blows.

When I came to this House 13 years ago, inexperienced as a legislator, one of the first men to take me under his arm and to advise me wisely was HENRY STEAGALL, of Alabama. I do not want to take more than a few minutes of the time of the House today, but I want to recount a personal experience or two that to me indicated the character of man he was.

I made a trip to Canada with him and other Members of this House 11 years ago to make a study of the Canadian sales tax system. I recall how we traveled together closely with each other as we went to and while we were there. We visited the great cities of that great country, and how we admired their architecture, their development, and their great country. I recall that when we went to the capital of Canada and visited the State buildings we stood in front of them and admired the marble and granite of which they were built, and expressed our deep appreciation of a neighbor like Canada.

When the trip had ended and we returned to Washington, at about 8 o'clock in the evening we detrained at the station and our baggage was taken to our homes, but we walked up the street to our offices. As we approached the Nation's Capitol, I remember how he stopped, took me by the arm, and said in substance: "We have seen a great country, we have had a great trip." Then as the floodlights from the Capitol Grounds cast their brilliance upon the Capitol dome where the Stars and Stripes were floating, he pointed to them and said, "But here is the flag that rules the world, and here is the country that we both love."

I know today that—

On Fame's eternal camping ground  
Their silent tents are spread,  
And Glory guards, with solemn round,  
The bivouac of the dead.

I am sure that when he passed away he had no fear, he had no doubts, and that

he was able to say as the great Apostle Paul had said, "I know in whom I have believed and I am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed to him against that day."

Mr. Speaker, two great statesmen have passed away. They are gone, but the inspiration of their labors and their lives will through all the years remain with us. I am sure that each of them could have said today, "I have fought the good fight, I have kept the faith."

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I yield now to the gentleman from California [Mr. SHEPPARD].

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. Speaker, I was shocked at an early hour this morning when a colleague called and told me of the demise of one of my friends and colleagues, the splendid gentleman from Pennsylvania, Hon. WILLIAM DITTER. It seems impossible that this tragic accident could happen to a friend with whom I was talking on the floor of the House last Thursday, discussing with him the mission on which the Committee on Navy Appropriations found it necessary to go to Chicago, and I asked him if he would take care of some other matters which are of interest and importance in the investigation. Congressman DITTER told me that he would take care of his portion of the investigation as soon as he got home. My experience with WILLIAM DITTER as a colleague and as a friend during my service in the House has been one of close friendship and cooperation. He was a man of great ability and splendid understanding. It is very difficult for me to pay tribute to my friend under these circumstances, but I feel he will be amply rewarded by the Great Master of all destiny and told to "sit upon My right as your services on earth have been well and faithfully performed."

To his family and the people of the State of Pennsylvania I offer my sympathy for their loss, and to the splendid people of the State of Alabama—my native State—goes my sympathy for the great loss that they have suffered in the passing of a great and splendid statesman, a fine friend, the Honorable HENRY STEAGALL. During the years of my experience as a Member of this body from each of these men I have always received the utmost consideration, friendship, and courtesy. May the Great Master grant to them divine consideration.

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I now yield to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. GRANT].

Mr. GRANT of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I loved HENRY STEAGALL. He has been my friend through many years. In the State of Alabama my district adjoins his. He has never been other than kind. He has always been friendly to the young Members of this body. Someone has said:

I wrote my name upon the sand,  
And trusted it would stand for aye;  
But soon, alas, the reflux sea  
Had washed my feeble lines away.

I carved my name upon the wood,  
And after years returned again,  
I missed the shadow of the tree  
That stretched of old upon the plain.

The solid marble next my name  
I gave as a perpetual trust;  
An earthquake rent it to its base,  
And now it lies o'erlaid with dust.

All these had failed; I was perplexed;  
I turned and asked myself, what then?  
If I would have my name endure,  
I'll write it on the hearts of men.

Mr. Speaker, HENRY STEAGALL has written his name upon the hearts of men. His body will soon lie in the district of his beloved native State of Alabama, but his spirit goes marching on.

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I yield now to the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. MONRONEY].

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. Speaker, as every other Member of the House, I was shocked to learn today of the deaths of two of our outstanding Members of this body, the Honorable HENRY B. STEAGALL, of Alabama, and Hon. J. WILLIAM DITTER. Both men have served their Nation well and their loss will be sorely felt in this critical hour.

Having served for more than 5 years under Chairman STEAGALL, I have come to appreciate his kindly and loving spirit and his deep and abiding sense of duty. His record in the Congress is filled with great achievement and he leaves the imprint of his character upon this Nation in scores of acts that he has prepared, fought for, and seen take their place as a part of the foundation of our Government.

It is true that I have not always agreed with my chairman on all issues. He understood that and no one could have expected fairer treatment nor more kindly consideration than that which he gave all of his committee, regardless of their divergent views. It was his warmth of human understanding and friendship that marked his every thought for those who were associated with him.

During his service in the Congress he has fathered and secured passage of much of our basic banking law and other acts dealing with the Nation's most important business affairs. Perhaps no achievement in his long record of accomplishment has had greater value to every citizen than his act creating the Federal Depository Insurance Corporation. It was due to his diligence and careful planning that this outstanding cornerstone of our banking institutions came into being. Not content with that, he has consistently watched its operation through these years to be sure that the agency did the job he had mapped out for it. Through the years he fought to protect the smaller banks and the smaller depositors of these banks from financial disaster.

The wisdom of this act makes it stand as a beacon light of confidence in our financial system.

HENRY STEAGALL will be missed by the millions he served as well as by those faithful friends in his own Alabama district. He will be sorely missed on the Banking and Currency Committee where he was a friendly, kindly leader, and a man of great understanding of his fellowman.

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I yield now to the gentleman

from Texas the distinguished Speaker [Mr. RAYBURN].

Mr. RAYBURN. After nearly 30 years of close association with HENRY B. STEAGALL, I can say truly that he was a kindly and lovable man. He had character, ability, statesmanship, and patriotism of a high order. With unnumbered thousands I shall miss him always. His friendship was an enriching treasure in the memory of which I shall not be poor.

Mr. FOLGER. Mr. Speaker, this morning I was shocked and grieved to learn of the passing of that good friend, Hon. HENRY B. STEAGALL. I was a member of the committee of which he was chairman, the Committee on Banking and Currency. When I knew that my name would be mentioned for membership on this committee I felt it a propriety that I should inquire of the chairman whether my appointment would be acceptable to him or if he had another in mind whom he might prefer. I received a most gracious and courteous reply, assuring me that he had no objection to my appointment and, on the other hand, would be glad to have me as a member. From the time I attended my first meeting I found in him a real friend. He was energetic, devoted to what he believed to be right, strong in his positions, but always tolerant of the views of others. The State of Alabama has been honored by his service in the House, and the Nation has received the contribution of a tireless worker, a thoughtful man, a splendid Member of the Congress, and for a long time a most efficient chairman of a very important committee.

Words fail us when we undertake to express our appreciation of a genuine friendship. We are helpless to extend to the family of the deceased an adequate expression of our deep sympathy in the loss they sustain in having removed from them for a time one so dear as a father and a husband. Certainly, it remains that "we shall not die, but we shall be changed in the twinkling of an eye." That which we call death is but the portal that leads to a larger life.

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, today the membership of the House of Representatives is stunned by the death of two of its most distinguished and useful Members. I refer to the sudden passing of Hon. J. WILLIAM DITTER, of the State of Pennsylvania, and the Honorable HENRY BASCOM STEAGALL, of the State of Alabama. Throughout a quarter of a century I have served with Representative STEAGALL, a true son of the South, a man of great ability, and a gentleman of the highest order.

I can well understand why the people of the Third Congressional District of Alabama took pride in returning their able Representative to the United States Congress. Their faith in the man of their choice was well placed. He died after one of many courageous and spectacular speeches made by him in support of what he thought was for the best interests of his district, his State, and his country.

I regret the passing of this great man. I sympathize deeply with the members

of his family in this time of their bereavement.

Mr. MONKIEWICZ. Mr. Speaker, today we grieve the sudden passing of our beloved colleague, HENRY BASCOM STEAGALL, of Alabama, the chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee of the House of Representatives.

While I did not know him so intimately during my first term in Congress, I knew of his reputation as a lawyer, legislator, and public servant at that time, and admired him. I became intimately acquainted with him when I joined the membership of the House Banking and Currency Committee. It was my privilege on several occasions to spend some intimate moments with him in discussing the various problems that were before the committee. Only then did I learn to appreciate the depth of HENRY STEAGALL. He was a man of great character, brilliant mind, and wide capacity. As a statesman there were very few his equal. His charming personality kept the committee in a good mood even under the most trying circumstances. His knowledge of banking and currency was vast. Even his opponents who differed with him on issues turned to him for information in times when it could not be obtained from other sources. This he was always ready to impart graciously, honestly, and fully.

As a new member of the committee, I naturally looked to him for advice. I marveled at the patience he possessed in spending much time with members like myself who were not well versed in the background of legislation before our committee. It might be said that during his chairmanship the Banking and Currency Committee was confronted with the most serious economic problems in the history of our country. Thanks to his ability, guidance, and skillful leadership, most of the difficulties were overcome.

I shall ever remember HENRY STEAGALL as one of the outstanding Members of the House of Representatives with whom it has been my privilege and honor to be associated.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Alabama.

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I wish to announce that funeral services for the Honorable HENRY B. STEAGALL will be held at Gawler's Funeral Home, 1756 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., at 10:30 o'clock tomorrow morning, Tuesday, November 23. All Members are invited.

Mr. Speaker, in this connection I ask unanimous consent that at the conclusion of the remarks paid in respect to Mr. STEAGALL today that the proceedings at the unveiling of the portrait of Hon. HENRY B. STEAGALL, of Alabama, found in the bound volume of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of the Seventy-seventh Congress, second session, at pages A2237 to A2241, inserted by Senator LISTER HILL, may be made a part of today's RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Without objection it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

[Extension of remarks of Hon. LISTER HILL, of Alabama, in the Senate of the United States, Monday, June 15, 1942]

#### UNVEILING OF PORTRAIT OF HON. HENRY B. STEAGALL

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, on last Wednesday, June 10, 1942, there was a notable gathering of high officials of the Government and distinguished personages in the Banking and Currency Committee room of the House of Representatives on the occasion of the unveiling of a portrait of the Honorable HENRY B. STEAGALL, of Alabama, the able and distinguished chairman of the committee.

The occasion was marked by many fine and deserved tributes paid Mr. STEAGALL and his services to our country. The chairman of the exercises was Hon. WRIGHT PATMAN, a Member of the House of Representatives from Texas and one of its ablest and most useful Members. There was a message from the President of the United States, the foremost man of our time, Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt.

There were addresses by Senator JOHN H. BANKHEAD 2d, of Alabama, agriculture's great statesman and leader in the Congress; by Representative CLYDE WILLIAMS, of Missouri, the ranking majority member of the House Committee on Banking and Currency; by Hon. JESSE P. WOLCOTT, the ranking minority member of the House Committee on Banking and Currency; by Hon. SAM RAYBURN, the distinguished Speaker of the House of Representatives and the successor to Alabama's great and beloved William B. Bankhead; by Senator CARTER GLASS, of Virginia, father of the Federal Reserve Act and one of the greatest Americans of our time; by Hon. Preston Delano, the Comptroller of the Currency, speaking for himself as well as for the Honorable Henry Morgenthau, the Secretary of the Treasury, who, much to his regret, could not be present at the exercises; by Hon. Jesse H. Jones, the Secretary of Commerce and the Administrator of the Federal Loan Agency, a man who has held more important positions in the Government at one time than perhaps any other man in the history of our country; by Hon. Marriner S. Eccles, the able Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System; by Hon. Leo T. Crowley, Chairman of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation and Alien Property Custodian; and by Representative JOE STARNES, of Alabama, an outstanding Member of the House of Representatives.

These addresses were followed by an address by Mr. STEAGALL, who spoke in words of appreciation and of moving eloquence.

The portrait is the work of Mr. Howard Chandler Christy, who immortalized himself with his great masterpiece—the signing of the Constitution of the United States.

The portrait was presented to the Committee on Banking and Currency by the friends of Mr. STEAGALL, in appreciation of him and his memorable services to our country.

During the past 10 historic and momentous years as chairman of the committee, Mr. STEAGALL has understood our time and the need of our people and has had the pure heart to comprehend and the rectified will to choose the right course of action. With devotion and high skill he has fathered and passed measure after measure that have saved and strengthened the hard-earned savings of our people and the financial structure of our Nation.

Mr. STEAGALL's achievements for our country are woven like a golden thread through the mighty fabric of the past decade. Fitting indeed that his portrait should be placed at the scene of his great labors—an inspiration ever to the members of the committee and a reminder to all who pass that way of the example of his service, of the character of his devotion, and of his enduring work for his country.



Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have the addresses printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the addresses were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

**"PROGRAM OF THE UNVEILING OF THE PORTRAIT OF THE HONORABLE HENRY B. STEAGALL, JUNE 10, 1942, BANKING AND CURRENCY COMMITTEE ROOM OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES"**

"HON. WRIGHT PATMAN, of Texas (chairman of the committee on arrangements), presiding. Mr. Speaker and distinguished guests, I have been honored by my colleague members of the Banking and Currency Committee by being delegated the delightful duty of acting as chairman of the ceremony honoring our able and distinguished chairman, the Honorable HENRY BASCOM STEAGALL, of Alabama.

"Through the years that we have been associated with our chairman all of us have learned to love him. We have respected his fair and impartial administration of the committee. The Banking and Currency Committee is one of the oldest, one of the largest, and one of the most important committees of the House. It handles legislation of great importance, whether it be during a period of depression or during a costly world war.

"During the long and useful existence of the Banking and Currency Committee only 21 men have had the honor to serve as its chairman. In this illustrious group is President James A. Garfield. Chairman STEAGALL has served as chairman of this committee longer than any other person.

"A committee of Chairman STEAGALL's friends arranged with America's great artist, Howard Chandler Christy, of New York, to paint from life his portrait. Friends and art critics alike have pronounced the portrait a great work of art.

"I am going to call the names and States they are from of the present members of the Banking and Currency Committee, for what we say and what we do here today carries the kindly and personal good wishes of every one of them, regardless of party affiliation.

"The members are Chairman STEAGALL, Alabama; WILLIAMS, Missouri; SPENCE, Kentucky; FORD, California; BROWN, Georgia; PATMAN, Texas; BARRY, New York; SACKS, Pennsylvania; GORE, Tennessee; MILLS, Arkansas; MONROE, Oklahoma; LYNCH, New York; KOPPELMANN, Connecticut; BOGGS, Louisiana; HULL, Wisconsin; WOLCOTT, Michigan; GIFFORD, Massachusetts; CRAWFORD, Michigan; GAMBLE, New York; KEAN, New Jersey; SUMNER, Illinois; SMITH, Ohio; KUNKEL, Pennsylvania; ROLPH, California; and DEWEY, Illinois.

**"Messages from President Roosevelt"**

"A number of messages have been received. Time will permit the reading of the messages from only one person. They are as follows:

"HON. HENRY B. STEAGALL,  
"House of Representatives,"

"Washington, D. C.

"MY DEAR HENRY: Since I cannot be present at the unveiling, I send greetings for the momentous occasion. From what I have heard, Howard has done full justice to one of Alabama's favorite sons and to my old friend. I would love to see it. Congratulations.

"Always sincerely,

"FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT."

"HON. WRIGHT PATMAN,  
"House of Representatives,"

"Washington, D. C.

"DEAR CONGRESSMAN PATMAN: Please extend my hearty greetings to all who gather with you tomorrow for the unveiling of the portrait of Congressman HENRY B. STEAGALL. He is a faithful and efficient public servant and although I cannot be present in person I am

glad to be associated with those who are paying this deserved tribute to him.

"Very sincerely yours,

"FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT."

**"Introduction of Senator Bankhead"**

"The Stars Fell on Alabama' when the Bankhead family was born. No more illustrious family of statesmen, orators, and patriots has ever represented one State so long and so honorably as the Bankhead family has represented Alabama. They have brought honor and renown to the glorious traditions of Alabama in the Halls of Congress, on the highest judicial benches, as soldiers on the field of battle, as eminent scholars, and as men whose chivalry is as gallant as the old South ever produced. Therefore it is proper that I should introduce the senior Senator of Alabama to present the portrait.

"The late Senator John Hollis Bankhead 1st is the only man in American political history to have two sons—one a United States Senator, the other Speaker of the House of Representatives—and both serving at the same time. The present senior Senator, JOHN HOLLIS BANKHEAD 2d is a brother of the late Speaker W. B. Bankhead and the father of Judge W. W. Bankhead, who succeeded his uncle in Congress and served until his appointment to the Federal bench.

"It is my personal pleasure to present the distinguished gentleman and senior Senator from Alabama, JOHN HOLLIS BANKHEAD 2d, who will present the portrait to the Committee on Banking and Currency of the House of Representatives. Senator BANKHEAD.

"Senator BANKHEAD. Members of the Committee on Banking and Currency of the House of Representatives, you have handled a large part of the so-called New Deal legislation involving many explorations into the domain of social, economic, financial, and general security. A brief enumeration of some of the outstanding subjects of legislation of which your committee has had exclusive jurisdiction may elucidate the proposition just stated: The establishment of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, revision of the Federal Reserve System to better adjust its operations to serve the needs of business; recodification of the laws governing the national bank system, establishment of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and the extension from time to time of its powers, until it has become the largest and best banking institution in the world; the building of houses for urban people at low rental rates for small-income workers, establishment of the Federal Housing Administration, which has built more than a million homes for moderate-income urban residents under a plan which affords insurance of home mortgages covering a long period of payments; establishment of the War Damage Corporation and Smaller War Plants Corporation, and the Price Control Act.

"In my judgment, one of the most important laws that has been enacted during the Roosevelt administration, from the standpoint of economic security and for the general welfare of the people, is the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation Act. In the great depression in the early thirties the people lost confidence in our financial institutions. Darker days from a financial outlook never faced our people. HENRY STEAGALL sponsored the bill establishing the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. In the face of resistance from the strongest official and financial sources, HENRY STEAGALL, with the backing of your great committee, stood as firm as the Rock of Gibraltar against the fierce winds of opposition. That measure was finally passed and approved by the President. Confidence in the banks was immediately restored. Since that time bank failures have almost disappeared, and the depositors in the few defaulting banks have promptly

received their money from the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. A man who has the vision, courage, and ability to lead our people from a state of discouragement and despair into a confident feeling of protection and security is entitled to have his picture placed where future generations may look with pride upon it.

"From the time a price control bill was presented to him for introduction by a representative of the administration, HENRY STEAGALL fought with force and determination for the adoption of fair price ceilings below which maximum prices could not be fixed on agricultural commodities. This was the outstanding issue involved in that legislation. A majority of your committee, regardless of party affiliations, supported the position of the chairman on that issue. The bill, as reported, contained section 3 which reflected the views of Mr. STEAGALL on agricultural price levels below which prices could not be fixed by law. The House approved that section. The Senate made some amendments but adopted the principle involved. The conference committee had a difficult duty to perform. I had the privilege of serving as one of the Senate conferees. Mr. STEAGALL was chairman of the House conferees. We worked together on that committee with the same motive and fixed purpose—to do the best we could to secure fairness and equality for our millions of farmers and their wives and children. The conference committee adopted section 3 of the House bill with only one amendment. Too much credit or too much praise cannot be bestowed upon HENRY STEAGALL for his services in that and other efforts to better the conditions of rural life.

"At the last Democratic National Convention held in Chicago, friends of my brother, William B. Bankhead, sought his nomination for Vice President. Because of his admiration for and confidence in HENRY STEAGALL, my brother chose him to make the nominating speech. Those who heard that speech agree that it was a masterpiece in the fields of eloquence, logic, and persuasion. It released pent-up emotions and strong convictions, and was the prelude to a spectacular demonstration, which, but for the active interference of dominant forces, might have changed important American history.

"I appreciate the priceless privilege of presenting to the Banking and Currency Committee the portrait by Howard Chandler Christy of my beloved friend and your able chairman, one of the outstanding statesmen of Congress, HENRY B. STEAGALL.

"MR. PATMAN. Since you are now for the first time seeing this wonderful portrait, it is now my privilege to introduce to you the artist, Howard Chandler Christy.

"MR. CHRISTY. I am both proud and happy to have been commissioned to paint the portrait of this wonderful man.

"MR. PATMAN. Thank you, Mr. Christy. I now present the ranking majority member of the Banking and Currency Committee, the Honorable CLYDE WILLIAMS, of Missouri.

"MR. WILLIAMS. Senator BANKHEAD, on behalf of the Banking and Currency Committee of the House, I accept this fine painting of our distinguished chairman and express to the donors our sincere thanks and grateful appreciation. It shall have an appropriate place in this committee room. The presentation of this beautiful portrait is eloquent proof of the high regard and esteem in which he is held by his friends. At this ceremony it is entirely fitting and proper to pay tribute to and proclaim our high admiration and sincere affection for him.

"HENRY STEAGALL, of Ozark, representing the Third District of Alabama, was first elected to the Sixty-fourth Congress and has had continuous service since that time. Only



six Members of the present House of Representatives have had longer service than he. For 28 years he has been a member of the Banking and Currency Committee and for the last 12 years has been its chairman. No one has ever served longer in that position. This is one of the outstanding committees of Congress. To be a member of it is a distinction, and to be a member and chairman of such a committee for these many years is a crowning achievement that has come to few men in our Nation's history. This honor has not come to him by mere accident or chance. It clearly attests his splendid ability, his sterling character, and his real worth as a national legislator.

"There are two things that stand out like mountain peaks in his legislative career. First, he has always stood for the preservation of the many small independent banking institutions and for the protection of bank depositors.

"It was my privilege to know him and to be intimately associated with him when he made the fight for the insurance of bank deposits. That policy was opposed by the big banks of the country. Powerful influences both in the Government and in the private financial world were arrayed against him. The unfortunate experience of some States in this field was cited as conclusive evidence that the plan would fail. It was predicted that the insurance of bank deposits would bankrupt the Government. Undaunted by these arguments and predictions of dire calamities, HENRY STEAGALL continued his fight. At times the outlook was not bright. He did not falter, hesitate, or weaken. His efforts culminated in a victory that brought contentment and the assurance of safety to millions of bank depositors. The passage of this law was among the great legislative accomplishments of the century, and it entitles HENRY STEAGALL to the lasting praise and gratitude, not only of the good people of the Third District of Alabama but of all the people of the entire United States.

"In the second place, his time and devotion have been given to the agricultural interests of the Nation and especially to the Southland which he so dearly loves and of which he is a part. He never lost an opportunity to throw himself with all his great influences, ability, and power into the fight when the rights of the farmers were involved. He has been their staunch friend and able advocate in the long fight to obtain their just share of the national income.

"The inhabitants of Ozark and the people of the Third Alabama District are fortunate and especially blessed in having as their representative in Congress not only one of the leaders during these strenuous times but one who ranks high among the great legislators of our history. We all love him.

"MR. PATMAN. Thank you MR. WILLIAMS. I now present the Honorable JESSE P. WOLCOTT, the ranking minority member of the Banking and Currency Committee.

"MR. WOLCOTT. Mr. Chairman, Chairman STEAGALL, Senator BANKHEAD, and friends, I consider it a signal honor to accept this splendid portrait of our chairman, HENRY B. STEAGALL, on behalf of the Banking and Currency Committee; especially do I speak for the minority members of this committee.

"Throughout his career in the Congress of the United States, and especially as chairman of this committee, HENRY STEAGALL has exhibited those qualities of leadership, character, marked ability, and untiring energy which are typical of a true statesman and gentleman. Every one of us recognizes in him a man of unswerving devotion to the fundamentals and ideals of constitutional government. During the years of his service as chairman of this committee he has been helpful, kind, and tolerant. Having been a member of the minority for some years, he has had a sympathetic understand-

ing of the purposes, problems, and objectives of the few of us who now constitute the minority of his committee. When at times most other men would have been impatient with us, he has insisted that each and every member be given an opportunity fully to express himself and to question witnesses. In consequence, the legislation which has been reported from the committee has been the result of thorough investigation and understanding knowledge of the important problems with which we have had to deal. Under HENRY STEAGALL's leadership the Banking and Currency Committee has reported more important legislation during the trying past 10 years than any other committee of Congress—the emergency banking laws, which enabled our banks to open and function normally after the 1933 closing; the laws creating the Federal Home Loan Bank Administration; the Home Owners' Loan Corporation; and the Federal Housing Administration, which have not only saved thousands of homes but has made it possible for hundreds of thousands to own homes who otherwise would not have been able to acquire them; most of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation legislation, through which a great part of our war production is being financed, was introduced, sponsored, and steered through the legislative intricacies and disputes to final enactment by HENRY STEAGALL. But outstanding in his successes have been the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation and the Price Control Act. Insurance against loss by depositors in our banks has been achieved more through his efforts than any other influence in or out of Congress. He is justly called the father of deposit insurance, which has done more to stabilize banking and prevent losses than any other legislation by any other country in the world.

"The price control bill would not have given protection to the policy of parity for our farmers if it had not been for the far-sightedness and constant alertness of HENRY STEAGALL in repelling all attempts by those unfriendly to agriculture to undo his work of years that the farmer might receive his just share of national income. The country owes a deep debt of gratitude to HENRY B. STEAGALL, and I am glad that his portrait will hang on the walls of this committee room, here in the Nation's Capitol, as a symbol of unqualified statesmanship and true devotion to duty—a splendid portrait of a great patriot and man.

"MR. PATMAN. Thank you, MR. WOLCOTT. I now have the pleasure of introducing Texas' first citizen, the able and courageous statesman and patriot, the Honorable SAM RAYBURN, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

"MR. RAYBURN. Mr. Chairman, MR. STEAGALL, members of the House Banking and Currency Committee, and your guests, it is a high privilege, and I deem it a distinct honor to be able to accept upon the part of the House of Representatives this magnificent portrait of this splendid American. After an association of 25 years, usually termed 'a quarter of a century,' with a man, you come to know him. You come to know him really.

"My association with HENRY STEAGALL has been so long, so close, and so intimate that I may speak of him not only as a statesman but as a man. He is a gentleman, as that word is known and used in the part of the country from which he comes. He is a statesman of high order, and I have been rather amused this morning to hear recounted all of the great measures that have passed the Congress under the leadership of MR. STEAGALL and the dire predictions that were made about some of them, of the destructive forces they would set in motion if

they were enacted into law, and none of those dire predictions have been justified.

"When I came to the Congress more than 29 years ago, a distinguished gentleman, who is present here this morning was the chairman of this great committee. I do not know whether it was a great committee before I came here or not, but I know that CARTER GLASS made it a great committee.

"Even in those days of the Federal Reserve System, some made dire predictions as to what it would do to banking and to finance.

"I must not take your time longer because there are others on the program. I want to say this about STEAGALL: He came from the rocks and hills of Alabama; he has not forgotten the rock from which he was weaned. Honors that have come to him have not changed him. He is still the simple man of the plain people.

"Let me repeat, he has grown to be a statesman of high order, but he has not forgotten the people.

"And, Henry, may I wish for you in the years that lay out before you, and I pray that they may be many, that you may enjoy to the fullest measure the rich blessings of health, of prosperity, and of peace, and that your path may lie through green pastures and by still waters. [Applause.]

"MR. PATMAN. Thank you, MR. RAYBURN. Our next speaker has probably had influence in framing and passing more financial legislation in Congress than any other person. He was coauthor of the Federal Reserve Act; and the Glass-Steagall bills, which were passed during the depression to help the country, are too numerous to mention. It pleases me to have the honor to present the Honorable CARTER GLASS, United States Senator from Virginia.

"Senator GLASS. Mr. Chairman, members of the Banking and Currency Committee of the House, ladies and gentlemen, it is a distinct pleasure to me to be a guest at this appropriate and important meeting in honor of HENRY STEAGALL. I have known him so long that I hesitate to tell you how long it has been.

"He and I have been associated for a number of years in all outstanding measures relating to the banking interests of the United States, and I have always found him amiable, firm, and sensible.

"This is a great picture, by a great artist, of a great representative in Congress. [Applause.] It gives me infinite pleasure to be among the guests here this morning.

"HENRY STEAGALL was a chief factor in the adoption of the insurance of bank deposits. A great many people, including myself, had doubts about what the result would be, but I am glad to know that it has been highly successful, that it has done a tremendous amount of good, that it has lessened, in fact, if it has not obliterated, bank failures in the United States; and in passing I may say that this is largely due to the fact that we put as administrator of this law one of the finest and most sensible men that ever lived, Leo Crowley.

"Administered by a man of less capacity, of inferior character, and oblivious of his responsibilities, the law may have been a disaster instead of a great blessing, but Leo Crowley has administered it as I think no other man could, and I take my hat off to him as well as I do to HENRY STEAGALL. [Applause.]

Also permit me to say that I have known BANKHEAD so long that I am ashamed to say how long. [Applause.]

MR. PATMAN. Thank you, Senator GLASS. It is my pleasure to present next the Honorable Preston Delano, Comptroller of the Currency. MR. DELANO will also represent the Honorable Henry Morgenthau, Jr., Secretary of the Treasury, who was unable to attend this ceremony.



"Mr. DELANO. Mr. Chairman, members of the Banking and Currency Committee of the House of Representatives, distinguished guests, ladies, and gentlemen, it is doubtful if there exists in the entire financial history of these United States a decade of greater significance than that of the last 10 years. During this period the Nation has faced and is still facing problems of deepest gravity. As a result of the unprecedented nature of these problems, the Banking and Currency Committee of the House of Representatives has been called upon to assume a heavy responsibility. We who are in government well understand how much of this responsibility falls upon the committee chairman during such a period of stress, and we who are in government, and particularly we of the Treasury, know with what earnestness and fidelity this responsibility has been discharged by the very distinguished gentleman whose portrait you have just seen unveiled.

"These last 10 years have seen Congress, with the approval of the President, place upon the statute books a series of acts so important and so far-reaching that they alter completely the financial and banking structure of the country. During this period the whole underlying philosophy of American banking has been fundamentally modified and expanded by the Banking Acts of 1933 and 1935.

"In all of this legislation HENRY BASCOM STEAGALL has played a dominant part. If you will go to the record, you will find there are two outstanding characteristics which have marked Mr. STEAGALL's career as chairman of this committee. The first has been his earnest and unchanging interest in the welfare of the independent country bank, an interest which I may say is heartily shared by the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency. He has been, and I know always will be, the closest friend of the crossroads banker.

"The second characteristic of Mr. STEAGALL's career as chairman of this all-important committee has been the uniform courtesy and dignity with which he has exercised the great power of his office, a courtesy and dignity which is in the best tradition of the chivalrous South from which he comes.

"And so, on behalf of Secretary Morgenthau, for whom I have the honor to speak, and who regrets that he cannot be here today, and for myself as Comptroller of the Currency, may I offer to you, Chairman STEAGALL, the congratulations and good wishes of all of us in the Treasury.

"Mr. PATMAN. Thank you, Mr. Delano. I now present the able financier, the Secretary of Commerce and Administrator of the Federal Loan Agency, the only man to have ever held two Cabinet-rank positions at the same time, the Honorable Jesse H. Jones.

"Mr. JONES. It is singularly appropriate at this particular time, with the world in its greatest struggle to preserve freedom for mankind and the democratic way of life, that we should pause to pay tribute to HENRY STEAGALL, one of the outstanding leaders in the Congress of the United States.

"HENRY STEAGALL and those associated with him in Congress are called upon to be almost superhuman in both knowledge and action. The Banking and Currency Committee, of which he has long been chairman, is one of the most important committees of Congress. It has been my privilege to appear before his committee many times during the past 10 years, asking for specific legislation, and upon the consideration and recommendation of his committee, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation has authorized the lending and investing of more than \$25,000,000,000. Approximately one-half of this amount was for economic recovery after 1932, and the other half in the war effort.

"We in the administrative branch of Government frequently come to Congress asking

for authority to do something which we have taken weeks, and probably months, to think out, and we expect the committee members immediately to grasp and understand the problems and determine the necessity for the law. I have been amazed at the ability of the members of these committees, especially the Banking and Currency Committee of the House, over which HENRY STEAGALL presides and before which I have appeared for all Reconstruction Finance Corporation legislation to get to the heart of the problem. I have been impressed by his patience and his willingness to give those appearing before his committee every possible opportunity to be heard and to explain their problems to their own satisfaction.

"The gentleman from Alabama is one of our most distinguished statesmen. He holds the confidence of his constituents, and he holds the confidence of his fellow Members of Congress.

"Twenty-seven years is a long span for a man to remain in Congress, and you may rest assured, HENRY STEAGALL, that, if you had not looked after the interests of your constituents—the people you represent—you would not be here today. Apparently, in looking after the interests of your own constituents, you are serving the best interests of Alabama and of the entire United States.

"According to my observation, you go about your responsibilities with that one purpose in mind, and while you have a real understanding of the fiscal and industrial needs of the Nation, you also have a perfect understanding of the people of your State and their welfare.

"Men rise and fall in public favor with passing issues and periodical elections. Fortunately, you have been repeatedly sent back to Congress, and undoubtedly will be as long as you are willing to serve.

"Such is the man we honor today. Your succession, your record in the Congress, bear far greater testimony to your service than could any words said here today. The word 'statesman' has an important meaning, but it is not quite warm enough to sum up HENRY STEAGALL, a warm-hearted, generous, hearty spirit. We are proud of your achievements, and we are proud of the fine things for which you stand.

"I appreciate the opportunity to join with a few of your other friends in paying homage to you in this simple manner.

"Mr. PATMAN. Thank you, Mr. Jones. The next speaker is the Honorable Marriner S. Eccles, of Utah, Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System.

"Mr. ECCLES. It is very gratifying to me to be asked to join in paying homage to my good friend, HENRY STEAGALL, though the 3 minutes allotted to me to review his extended and useful public career and pay tribute to his great human qualities are scarcely adequate. I should at least have as much time as the keynoter at a great national convention.

"Ever since I came to the Federal Reserve Board, HENRY STEAGALL has been chairman of the very powerful Banking and Currency Committee of the House. Time and again I have sat in the well of his august committee room, under his gavel, while his associates have plied me with questions on almost every subject under the sun, some of them touching now and then on matters of banking and currency.

"He has always been gracious and kind to me, as is his nature and habit. I am deeply indebted to him for the patience, wise counsel, and guidance he afforded me at the time of the Banking Act of 1935 and on many subsequent occasions. Even when he has failed to see eye to eye with me during momentary lapses of his usual high statesmanship, he has invariably turned me down so charmingly and gracefully, with such unfailing southern courtesy and consideration, that I have felt

no pain—at least not while in his radiant presence.

"The felicitous speeches which have been prepared for this occasion testify to the fact that HENRY STEAGALL is a national figure and a splendid public servant. No portrait of him, however inspired, can, of course, radiate his personality or speak his quiet words of wisdom. Hence I shall continue to consult HENRY in person while I respectfully salute his likeness on canvas. May they both long endure.

"Mr. PATMAN. Thank you, Mr. Eccles. The next speaker is Chairman of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation and Alien Property Custodian, the Honorable Leo Crowley.

"Mr. CROWLEY. I feel privileged, indeed, to participate today in this ceremony to honor a distinguished American statesman who is also my close personal friend, HENRY B. STEAGALL, Member of Congress from Alabama.

"As chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency of the House of Representatives during the past 10 years, Congressman STEAGALL has handled more legislation vital to the financial well-being of this Nation than was handled during any comparable period in our history. The contributions that he and his associates on the House Banking and Currency Committee made to rebuilding our banking system after the disastrous days of 1932 and 1933, and to reestablishing our whole financial system on a sounder basis, will rank in history, I am sure, among the most valuable and the most workable accomplishments of the Roosevelt administration.

"As Chairman of Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation for the past 8½ years, it has been my privilege to administer what is perhaps the outstanding recent innovation in the financial field. The idea of insuring bank depositors against loss of their funds through bank failures was advocated by Congressman STEAGALL for many years before 1933. Introduction and passage of the measure providing for Federal insurance of bank deposits in the Banking Act of 1933 was largely the product of his vision and of his strong leadership. In view of the powerful forces that gathered in opposition to the measure, its passage is a tribute to the courage and the persistence that his associates know characterize the efforts of HENRY STEAGALL when he knows he is right. And now that Federal deposit insurance is seasoned by nearly 9 years of valuable and constructive experience, now that the desirability and the workability of the plan have been demonstrated beyond question, I think it understatement to say that the people of this Nation owe to HENRY STEAGALL and his committee associates an eternal debt of gratitude, if only for this single contribution to their safety and their peace of mind and to the soundness of our financial system.

"We know that so long as HENRY STEAGALL remains in Congress, Federal deposit insurance will have a good and sympathetic friend. In common with other administrators of financial agencies, I have found him always willing to listen to administrative problems and always eager to sponsor legislation that would improve the soundness and the workability of financial statutes. For standing always with his feet solidly on the ground, for being able always to distinguish between needed changes and visionary proposals, and for lending his support and his leadership only to proposals of unquestionable merit, we and the thousands of American bankers and the millions of American bank depositors are grateful to HENRY B. STEAGALL. And our gratitude extends also to his coworkers on the House Banking and Currency Committee during the past 10 years.

"My own feelings on this occasion go far beyond professional recognition and civic gratitude. Even more than my work with



HENRY STEAGALL has demonstrated his keenness of intellect, his qualities of statesmanship, and his capacity for leadership, the association has meant for me a constantly ripening personal friendship which I value very highly. This friendship has meant much to me since I came to Washington. It is my hope that the fates will permit our association to continue for many years more and that our ties will grow closer with each passing year.

"Mr. PATMAN. Thank you, Mr. Crowley. I now present the Honorable JOE STARNES, Congressman from the Fifth Alabama District.

"Mr. STARNES. Mr. Chairman, HENRY B. STEAGALL is Alabama's proud gift to the Nation. If, by God's grace, he completes the term to which he has been recently nominated without opposition there will have been only 16 other Members of the House who have served for an equal or longer period than he. No other Member has his name identified with more laws of national and international import. Mr. STEAGALL further has the unusual record of having never lost a bill which has been considered by the House.

"While Mr. STEAGALL is the author or co-author of more monetary legislation than any other American, the measures which he has authored and sponsored have covered the whole of our economic life. They have touched the hearthstone of every American home. When his party came into control of the House in the final years of President Hoover's administration, he authored the legislation establishing the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Under the able administration of another great American, Jesse Jones, of Texas, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation revived and restored business operations in every State.

"Mr. STEAGALL's most famous legislative contribution in the monetary field is the act guaranteeing bank deposits. He advocated this legislation for many years prior to 1932 and successfully sponsored the measure through the Congress when his party obtained complete control of the Government. This legislation did more to restore the confidence of our people in their financial institutions and to end bank failures than all other factors combined.

"Among other contributions of our distinguished colleague to the stability and leavening of our social and economic life has been the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, designed to save homes; the Federal Housing Administration, to build and repair homes under which over \$5,000,000,000 worth of loans on homes have been insured without net loss to the Government; and the United States Housing Authority, which has abolished many of the slums in our cities, towns, and communities. It is noteworthy that Mr. STEAGALL personally wrote a provision in the United States Housing Authority which inaugurated a slum-clearance program for rural areas.

"Measures to stimulate trade and commerce with other nations and to breathe life into the good-neighbor policy, as well as measures to increase the income and improve the lot of the American farmer have been sponsored by our distinguished colleague.

"It can be truthfully said that as a legislator he has a broad, comprehensive understanding of our national life, with its varied problems; as a leader he is adept, adroit, skillful, always progressive, and uniformly successful; as a man his impulses are attuned to the warm heartbeats of the human family. No man who has served in this distinguished body has ever possessed a keener sense of humor, more common sense, or a greater love for his friends, his country, and his God than HENRY B. STEAGALL, of Alabama. Certainly none has served with more distinction nor constructive usefulness.

"Mr. PATMAN. Thank you, Mr. STARNES. At this time it is my privilege and pleasure to

present our most distinguished and honored guest upon this occasion, the Honorable HENRY B. STEAGALL, chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency.

"Mr. STEAGALL. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Speaker, members of the committee, and distinguished guests, we are taught that man acquired the power of speech only after a long period of development. So until this day there are times when no language can give full expression to the emotions of the human heart. You must look beyond my words deep down into my heart to understand how grateful I am to my friends who are responsible for this occasion, and for all the kindly, generous things that have been said. The fact that I recognize my faults and limitations makes it all only more personal, and more appreciated.

"The success that may have marked my service is not due alone to any merit of mine. Credit must be given the members of the Committee on Banking and Currency of the House who have been unfailing in their indulgence and cooperation, and who have contributed so much of what has been accomplished. I speak not only of majority members but of the minority as well. The work of our committee has never been marred by any partisanship inconsistent with public duty.

"In all my years of service in Congress I have never known a committee that possessed a higher average of ability or that reflected more credit upon the House than the Committee on Banking and Currency. In my judgment, the work of this committee is more important to the prosperity and happiness of our people than that of any other committee of the House.

"It was this committee that formulated the great Federal Reserve Act, which enabled the Nation successfully to finance the First World War without serious disturbance to our domestic economy. That measure was enacted under the leadership of the illustrious Senator from Virginia, CARTER GLASS, at the time chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee of the House, and Senator Robert L. Owen, of Oklahoma, chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee of the Senate, who honor us by their presence here today. This committee has played a most conspicuous part in the formation and passage of legislation suited to the stupendous task confronting us at this time of national crisis.

"Through the magnanimity and unfailing kindness of a great and generous constituency, it has been my good fortune to have been chosen as Representative in Congress for a continuous period of 30 years. The record shows that only 11 Members of the House have served longer than this. I have served during the administrations of President Wilson, President Harding, President Coolidge, President Hoover, and now President Roosevelt—the recognized leader of the moral forces of the world. I have served with eight Speakers of the House, beginning with Speaker Clark, Speaker Gillette, Speaker Longworth, Speaker Garner, Speaker Rainey, Speaker Byrnes, brilliant William B. Bankhead of Alabama, and our present able and beloved Speaker, SAM RAYBURN—great statesmen, all of them, and true Americans. Well worthy of association with these are many contemporaries whose names will forever adorn the history of these times.

"As these names and faces come trooping to memory, I am reminded of the words of the immortal Pericles, who, when approaching the end of his incomparable career embracing the period which history records as the 'Age of Pericles' or the 'Golden Age of Greece,' said that, within his lifetime had, 'Existed the greater part of those who since the origin of the world have been the luminaries of the human race.' No doubt

the statement of Pericles was fully justified. I can truly say that these men with whom I have had the honor of association—some of whom honor us by their presence on this occasion—may justly be called the luminaries of another age. I could wish no higher honor than these associations and friendships. They enrich my life. They make the years seem all too brief. I confess I wish they could be longer.

"Throughout all the world, in this hour of darkness, men and women look with tear-stained eyes to the Congress of the United States for light and leadership. We will not fail them. I believe the present representatives of the sovereign people of the United States are worthy of our best traditions and will prove equal to the responsibilities entrusted to them.

"When the present conflict ends—as, please God, it shall end in the triumph of our flag—we will reclaim and hold the powers and prerogatives—vested by the Constitution in the chosen representatives of the people. Of course our orderly processes must be interrupted during this unhappy period of world conflict and our lives adjusted to these temporary conditions. But when peace shall come again, we will resume the normal processes intended by the heroic patriots who established our Government. We will assert anew our uncompromising devotion to those fundamental principles that are essential to the perpetuity of this Republic—and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.

"Mr. PATMAN. Thank you, Mr. STEAGALL. In conclusion, I desire to express appreciation to the participants of this program. Please accept from the Committee on Banking and Currency of the House our thanks, appreciation, and congratulations."

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

THE LATE HONORABLE J. WILLIAM DITTER

Mr. WOLFENDEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is with deep regret and profound sorrow that I announce the death of our colleague the able Representative from the Seventeenth District of the State of Pennsylvania, the Honorable J. WILLIAM DITTER. I offer a resolution (H. Res. 362), which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

*Resolved*, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. J. WILLIAM DITTER, a Representative from the State of Pennsylvania.

*Resolved*, That a committee of 10 Members of the House, with such Members of the Senate as may be joined, be appointed to attend the funeral.

*Resolved*, That the Sergeant at Arms of the House be authorized and directed to take such steps as may be necessary for carrying out the provisions of these resolutions and that the necessary expenses in connection therewith be paid out of the contingent fund of the House.

*Resolved*, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Mr. WOLFENDEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, J. WILLIAM DITTER, familiarly known as "Bill" to all the Members of the House, was one of the outstanding Representatives, a tireless worker, an able debater, a man who was always admired and respected, even by those Members who opposed his views and expressions. As a member of the Committee on Appropriations, his keen mind and training were of unquestioned



service to this country. He was an outstanding member of the bar. Bill sacrificed his practice to serve during these critical times in the interests of the Nation. His untimely passing will be a great loss to his district, to his State, and to his Nation.

I think it fitting that I read at this time a letter received by the Speaker this morning:

The SECRETARY OF THE NAVY,  
Washington, November 22, 1943.

The SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. SPEAKER: It was with deep regret this morning that I learned of the tragic death of the Honorable J. WILLIAM DITTER, Representative from Pennsylvania.

Mr. DITTER, during his career in Congress, has been a true friend of the Navy and his loss will be deeply felt by the personnel of the Navy and of the Navy Department.

In all dealings with him we found him to have the best interests of the Nation at heart.

The Nation, the House of Representatives, and the Navy have suffered a keen loss in his passing.

Very truly yours,

FRANK KNOX.

Mr. WOLFENDEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts, the minority leader [Mr. MARTIN].

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, one of the saddest duties of my career in this body confronts me this morning; that is to speak of the tragic death of our greatly esteemed colleague, the Honorable J. WILLIAM DITTER, of Pennsylvania. About 1 o'clock this morning, I was awakened to receive the shocking news that BILL DITTER had been killed earlier in an airplane crash. It was difficult for me, as I know it is difficult for you, to realize that one so vigorous, so full of energy, so filled with love of life and interest in his work, could pass so quickly from this world.

The tragic death of the Honorable J. WILLIAM DITTER will shock the Nation. In his untimely passing his country lost a patriotic legislator; the House of Representatives lost a brilliant and able Member; his colleagues lost an associate for whom we all had a deep affection; the Republican Party lost a tireless worker. I know I speak for the whole House in saying that the deep sympathy of this entire body goes out to our dead colleague's bereaved family.

It was my privilege to have enjoyed the close friendship of BILL DITTER since he first came to Congress. His outstanding ability, his splendid gifts as an orator, his brilliant mentality marked him as one who would have gone far in serving his country had he been spared this tragic end.

He served for years as a member of the important Committee on Appropriations, and in this service he acquired a profound knowledge of the Government and its operations. His service on the Subcommittee on Naval Affairs had rendered him an authority on those matters. He had contributed much to the development of the American Navy.

He was three times selected by his associates as chairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee.

As a teacher, lawyer, public prosecutor, and legislator, he served well the people of Pennsylvania and the Nation.

We can ill afford, especially in times like these, and with the problems which lie ahead of us to be solved, to lose a great American like BILL DITTER.

Mr. WOLFENDEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. KINZER].

Mr. KINZER. My colleagues, a deep sorrow has fallen upon the Pennsylvania congressional delegation in the untimely and sudden death of our colleague which occurred last night at 8:30, about 10 miles from my home while he was on his way from Massachusetts to his home in Ambler. The storm drove them 80 miles west entirely out of their course, and the plane crashed near the town of Columbia, Lancaster County, Pa., at 8:30 last night. WILL DITTER came to this Congress well equipped by education, study, and personality, more than a decade ago and from that time to this he has represented the Seventeenth Congressional District of Pennsylvania. He knew his constituents. He understood their problems, their sorrows, their hopes, and their aspirations, and he at all times met them and aided them in every way within his power in the solving of those problems.

WILL DITTER was an able Member of this House worthy of any adversary, with few equals and no superiors in forensic debate. We shall miss him, and I shall miss him as a neighbor and a close personal friend. He has been helpful to all of us; he has been kind to us. In his passing our sympathy goes out to his helpmeet and wife who through the years has aided him in every way, and likewise our sympathy goes out to his son and daughter who have lost the guiding hand of a loving father.

Mr. WOLFENDEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER].

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, the House bows its head in greatest grief this morning. Two of our distinguished leaders are gone.

J. WILLIAM DITTER came to this House with a wonderful record behind him. Most of the time he has been here he has served with me upon the Committee on Appropriations. All of that time on the committee he has been a member of the Naval Subcommittee, and has had as much to do as any man with the naval preparations that have come in the last few years. But, his service was diversified. He served upon the Committee on the District of Columbia, upon the Interior Department Subcommittee; upon the Treasury and Post Office Department Subcommittee, and in later years upon the Deficiency Committee.

To my mind he was the ablest debater on the floor of this House. He was a great lawyer and an expert accountant. Those qualities made of him one of the very best cross-examiners I have ever seen.

To lose such a man at such a time as this, in the time of our Nation's greatest trial, is a blow to the Republic. Our sympathy goes out in fullest measure to

that family of his to whom he was so keenly devoted.

Mr. WOLFENDEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the majority leader, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK].

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I was grievously shocked upon receiving word of the death of our late friend—my genuine friend—BILL DITTER. Our friendship started early in his congressional career, dating back more than 10 years.

His qualities of leadership, his power of speech, his lovable personality quickly brought him to the forefront among our Republican colleagues, and these same qualities endeared him to the entire House.

I can see him now in debate from his position in the third row, and I can see him walking across the House, particularly when there was colloquy or some passage which had taken place between himself and some other Member—and frequently I was that other Member—and how I marveled at his ability, his rapidity of thought, and the difficulty of undermining his position.

BILL DITTER and I often crossed swords on matters involving differences of opinion, and occasionally on matters involving some political color in which we engaged in debate, but always these exchanges were of the most impersonal and friendly nature.

As previously said today in tribute to him, BILL DITTER was "a foeman worthy of any man's steel." He was always fair in debate. Strong advocate though he was, he never resorted to small practices. He was a man of high ideals. He possessed nobility of character. He had the courage of his convictions and never did he hesitate to freely express them.

One emotion BILL DITTER firmly possessed, and that was his love of the House of Representatives.

In his untimely and tragic death this House has lost one of its stalwarts. The Nation has been deprived of a truly great statesman. Throughout his service in the House, BILL DITTER, as I lovingly and fondly refer to him, was ever interested in the United States Navy. He was one of its strongest advocates and supporters. His only boy, I am informed, was just recently commissioned in the Navy; and he was intensely proud of that boy.

I am further advised that there is being completed at the Willow Grove Naval Air Station—which was BILL DITTER's destination last evening when the fatal accident occurred—a chapel which will bear a plaque at the entrance, the inscription for which was chosen by BILL DITTER. That inscription will read:

A house of prayer.

And then these words, from the Psalms:

Let the words of my mouth and the meditation of my heart be acceptable in Thy sight, O Lord, my Strength and my Redeemer.

I have faith that his life has been acceptable to the Redeemer and that his soul is in God's keeping.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, the casualty lists from the battle fronts are lengthening. Every morning there is delivered at the door of homes throughout the Nation telegrams which read, "Regret to inform you that your son—"

But all the war casualties are not on the other side, and we have one tragically reported here this morning. Congressman DITTER was as much a participant in the war effort, as much a part of the American forces as any boy who mans a machine gun or pilots a plane across the enemy frontiers today.

As a member of the Committee on Appropriations he not only cooperated in the heavy responsibilities of the committee in providing funds for the support of the entire war program, but as ranking minority member of the Subcommittee on Naval Appropriations, he gave unstintingly of his time and attention, and of his great talents, to the work of that committee in the development of a two-ocean Navy and of American sea power which has given the United States the greatest Navy ever launched under the flag of any nation in the history of the world—a Navy which has been up to this time, and will continue to be with increasing emphasis, a determining factor in this war of extermination and survival now waged in every quarter of the globe.

WILLIAM DITTER was a man of exceptional ability. He was an outstanding figure in the Congress and in the Nation. He rendered a distinguished service to his State, to the Congress, to his party, and especially to his country.

He died at his post of duty and in line of action, and if he could have sent us a last message I am certain that message would have been, "Carry on." In the words of Saul, as paraphrased by Lord Byron:

Warriors and chiefs! should the shaft or the sword  
Pierce me in leading the host of the Lord,  
Heed not the corse, though a king's, in your path:  
Bury your steel in the bosoms of Gath!  
Thou who art bearing my buckler and bow,  
Should the soldiers of Saul look away from the foe,  
Stretch me that moment in blood at thy feet!  
Mine be the doom which they dared not to meet.

Farewell to others, but never we part,  
Heir to my royalty, son of my heart!  
Bright is the diadem, boundless the sway,  
Or kindly the death, which awaits us today!

Mr. WOLFENDEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SIMPSON].

Mr. SIMPSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is hard to speak of a departed colleague; it is doubly hard this morning when we learn of the loss of two of our very distinguished colleagues. One of them, the Honorable J. WILLIAM DITTER, is from Pennsylvania. To stand in this spot where he scored his triumphs and to recall to your minds his value to our country so soon following his departure from us is difficult. Time will impress upon the minds of Americans the worth of BILL DITTER and HENRY STEAGALL to

their country. They were called at the zenith of their careers for a higher purpose. Of that I am convinced. That purpose can only be that an all-knowing Father needed them in the furthering of His design. Those of us remaining will do our best to fill their shoes, a most difficult job and one which time will help us do.

To those dear ones remaining with us we pledge our sympathies, we express our regret, and we know that in their remembrance of these departed loved ones they will find a lasting satisfaction.

Mr. WOLFENDEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WIGGLESWORTH].

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Speaker, the tragic and untimely death of our able colleague and distinguished friend the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Hon. J. WILLIAM DITTER, carries with it a sense of shock and deep personal loss.

For years I have worked closely with BILL DITTER. I have worked closely with him as a member of the Committee on Appropriations, as a member of the subcommittee in charge of deficiency appropriations, as a member of the Republican Congressional Committee. In days gone by he has come into my district to speak in my behalf. Only a few days ago, as the Members will recall—in perhaps his last speech on the floor of this House—his friendship was evidenced in striking manner.

No one could work closely with him as I have without having for him both high regard and deep affection. I shall miss him greatly.

BILL DITTER's death is a great loss to the Nation. His contribution to the Navy and in other fields of outstanding importance is well known to us all. His gift of expression, his capacity in debate, his power of analysis, his knowledge of human nature combined to give him a continually increasing influence on the floor of this House and held for him the prospect of an even brighter and more useful future in the service of his country. The Nation can ill afford, Mr. Speaker, to lose one of his high character and outstanding capacity in these difficult days.

I join in heartfelt sympathy to Mrs. Ditter and to the members of the family who survive him.

Mr. WOLFENDEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. LAMBERTSON].

Mr. LAMBERTSON. Mr. Speaker, we are downcast today over the passing of our two colleagues. J. WILLIAM DITTER was sitting by me Friday in a committee hearing. We shall miss him much, for he was an able Member of the House. Besides being penetrating, he was conscientious and forceful. While he occupied a position of leadership in the party, he was a thoroughgoing American and at his zenith in public usefulness. May his memory help us to do our duty better.

It was never my privilege to have served in a committee with Mr. STEAGALL, but I have observed him for nearly eight terms on the floor. I appreciated his high worth. It is very unusual to lose two men in the same 24 hours. It is so

rare that they should both be men of such distinguished leadership.

Mr. WOLFENDEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Vermont [Mr. PLUMLEY].

Mr. PLUMLEY. Mr. Speaker, my long-time and never-to-be-forgotten connection with J. WILLIAM DITTER, ranking member of the Subcommittee on Appropriations for the Navy, on which I served with him at his solicitation, was too confidential and too intimate; my personal relations and those of my family with him and his family were and are so close that I do not trust myself to try at this time to pay to his memory so just and rich a tribute as I hope later to be able to pay, somewhat commensurate with his deserts.

Until then and upon this mournful occasion may I say only that so well did I know BILL DITTER, I dare to say that could he have been heard to have spoken as he met the grisly thing called death, he might have been heard to say as he went to the reward of just men made perfect:

Let me live out my years in heat of blood!  
Let me die drunken with the dreamer's wine!

Let me not see this soul-house built of mud  
Go toppling to the dust—a vacant shrine.

Let me go quickly, like a candle light  
Snuffed out just at the heyday of its glow.  
Give me high noon—and let it then be night!  
Thus would I go.

And grant that when I face the grisly Thing,  
My song may trumpet down the gray  
Perhaps.

Let me be as a tune-swept fiddle string  
That feels the Master Melody—and snaps!

Mr. WOLFENDEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. RODGERS].

Mr. RODGERS of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, once again the black camel of death has entered our midst, knelt at the threshold of the earthly home of two of our colleagues, and summoned them to go on that long journey to that undiscovered country from whose bourne no traveler e'er returns.

When I received early this morning the information at my hotel that BILL DITTER had been killed in an airplane crash I could not speak; words failed me. It fails me now, it fails all of us, to find words properly to express our regret and our sorrow at his untimely passing. We shall miss his cheery greeting, his ever-readiness to be helpful to us in any way that lay within his power. His place in committee, on the floor, in the councils of his party will be hard to fill. His community, his State, his Nation, has suffered a great loss. To the bereaved family we extend our deepest heartfelt sympathy in this hour of sudden tragedy.

Mr. WOLFENDEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mrs. ROGERS].

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, the full scope of our loss today is not realized, I believe, by any one of us. We are too stunned and shocked. We have lost two of the great leaders of the greatest legislative body in the world, the House of Representatives.



Very soon a Member learns to measure the ability, the character, and equipment of his fellow Members. These two gentlemen were well prepared when they came to the House, but they grew steadily year by year in stature and in their ability to get things done for America.

A great writer once said: "It is not life that matters but the courage we bring to it." Both these men always showed rare courage. Both these men had a great belief in God, a firm conviction in the hereafter, and that if you lived properly and courageously you went to that Great Beyond. It is my belief that that is why they were so courageous, why they were leaders, and why their actions in the House will help us to carry on. Their spirit will lead us along the way.

Each man died in the service of his country. The senior Member, HENRY B. STEAGALL, died as a result of an overtaxed heart as the result of war work and a long speech made on the House floor when he was very ill last week. Hon. J. WILLIAM DITTER died while carrying out his work for the Navy he loved so well. I believe if he could have chosen the way he was to meet his death, he would have wished to go as he did in a Navy plane while performing a service for the conduct of the war. The Navy wrote a tribute of respect and appreciation of his great contribution in appropriating funds for strengthening of all branches of the Navy. We especially owe this statesman and patriot unfailing gratitude.

Both these men had a great graciousness and a great gentleness. Neither man was ever too busy to sit down and talk things over and talk things out with a fellow Member. The last thing either of them said to me was an encouraging, helpful word. As we grieve, our deepest, most understanding sympathy goes to their families.

There are no party lines when we lose those we love in the House but, of course, the blow falls more heavily upon members of the party to which the departed friend belonged. In the passing of WILLIAM DITTER the Republicans have suffered an irreparable loss. A tireless, effective worker, modest, unassuming, a brilliant debater of great ability, a fine friend, we shall miss him more than we can say.

Both leaders were nationally known. The Nation will pause with us and mourn their loss.

Every Member in the House today realizes that for HENRY STEAGALL and WILLIAM DITTER there is no death.

Mr. WOLFENDEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. GRAHAM].

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. Speaker, the silver cord is loosened, the golden bowl is broken. The picture is dashed to pieces. Today those of us who live and move around are conscious of two outstanding men. It has been well said that at the moment we do not realize the loss we have suffered. As the days go on and as time unfolds and the work of this House must be carried on for the benefit of the Nation and the world at

large, we shall miss these two men more than we at the moment can imagine.

One day I asked our colleague from Pennsylvania, as he was passing back and forth: "Why is it that you do not go to the Well?" He said, "I consider it a mark of disrespect to the Speaker to turn my back on that Chair and the man who occupies it." I may say, Mr. Speaker, that no man in my acquaintanceship held in higher respect the traditions of this great body than did our brother DITTER.

Many points have been emphasized in the lives and characters of these men, their kindness, their gentleness, their ability, their scholarly attainments, but underneath it all there is something like the Biblical phrase: "Underneath it all are the eternal arms sustaining."

I often think of my friend, and I speak of him now as a friend with the deepest feeling. Frequently he would come to me and ask, "Have you time to look up a little law for me?" or "Will you look up this point for me to make dead sure I am right?" He never entered this Well and never crossed swords with an opponent until he felt he was firmly grounded, that he was established as it were bottomed on the law, and then with that marvelous skill of repartee of the adroit rapier thrust that no man in this House possesses, and I speak from a knowledge of 38 years in the criminal courts of the United States in my State, never have I seen in my time such a cross-examiner, such a debater, such a man of skill as this man, yet with it all kindly, gentle. One day, I recall with distinctness when a Member on the opposition said to me that he felt hurt over something Mr. DITTER had said. I overtook our colleague, the gentleman from Pennsylvania, at the door and told him. Like a flash he said he would not hurt a man in this House under any consideration, and, "I will go at once and I will apologize to him, I will strike it from the Record," and to his everlasting credit that was done.

That is the measure of a man. Not in the triumph of his success did he wish in any way to hurt his fellow men, but with all kindness, gentleness, and softness, all the time upholding his party and his position, yet through it all having consideration for his fellow man.

If you will pardon another personal reference, may I refer to his daughter who is associated with him in the practice of law. What a remarkable thing it is for a father and daughter to be associated. Frequently we know of fathers and sons being associated together but it is a rare thing indeed that a daughter emulates her father and follows in his course. Then there is his son and what pride he had in that boy and the fact he was entering the Navy. The only time I ever saw him show any emotion was one day when he was speaking to me he said: "You do not know, you will never know the pride of a father, the pride I have in my son entering the Navy and going out to defend our country."

Is it any wonder that we from Pennsylvania are proud of this man, proud of his memory, the marvelous courage he has left us and that we are so glad to pay tribute to him here today? It seems to me that in the days that he taught in the Northeastern High School of Philadelphia, when he taught the subjects of history and economics, that something went through his every fiber and system, for I know of no man in this House who took a greater interest in the history of his country and a greater pride. Living near Valley Forge, passing through Germantown and on the Brandywine day by day passing Independence Hall, the memories of the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States and the Continental United States, the Congress of the Confederacy and all those great heroes and characters, this man had taken something into his very being that meant something for America. He was a genuine American through it all. Now he is gone.

I know of no words more beautiful than the words of George Matheson, the blind English preacher, and if you will indulge me for a moment I would like to read them as a true sentiment of my own feelings toward Mr. DITTER:

O Love that wilt not let me go,  
I rest my weary soul in Thee;  
I give Thee back the life I owe,  
That in Thine ocean depths its flow  
May richer, fuller be.

O Light that followest all my way,  
I yield my flickering torch to Thee;  
My heart restores its borrowed ray,  
That in Thy sunshine's blaze its day  
May brighter, fairer be.

O Joy that seekest me through pain  
I cannot close my heart to Thee;  
I trace the rainbow through the rain,  
And feel the promise is not vain  
That morn shall tearless be.

O Cross that liftest up my head,  
I dare not ask to fly from Thee;  
I lay in dust life's glory dead,  
And from the ground there blossoms red  
Life that shall endless be.

—George Matheson.

Mr. WOLFENDEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BRADLEY].

Mr. BRADLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, this morning I learned the news of the death of my colleague from Pennsylvania, WILLIAM DITTER, while at my home in Philadelphia preparing to return to Washington. On my arrival here I was informed of the untimely death also of the distinguished gentleman from Alabama, Mr. STEAGALL.

Regarding our colleague from Alabama, our distinguished Speaker has well expressed the thought of the House by characterizing him as a kindly and lovable gentleman. To my colleague from Alabama I would say that we all join with them in expressing our sympathy to the family of Mr. STEAGALL and to the citizens of Alabama for the loss their State has suffered. In the years he served in this body he made a contribution not only to the State of Alabama, but to the welfare of the entire Nation.

In common with all of my colleagues from Pennsylvania, I was shocked and stunned by the tragic circumstances surrounding the death of **BILL DITTER**, to a degree that does not permit expression. He was no less a casualty of the war than are those who have died on the sea, in the air, and on the battlefields in this war. He died in the service of the Navy which he loved and which he had served so well.

This aisle may divide us along party lines but it can never divide us in friendship and in affection. For **BILL DITTER**, I always felt a sincere and deep affection. I feel I have sustained a personal loss. Our State has lost a man, who, in the service rendered to it, has not been surpassed by anyone, who in our time has been in public life in the State of Pennsylvania.

To his wife and family, I extend my sincere sympathy in this hour of bereavement and I pray that Almighty God will give consolation to them.

Many of us, because of the duties which confront us every day and the new problems that arise engaging our attention, are prone too soon to forget our associates, but they have the right to expect that those of us, who have been so intimately associated with them day by day, shall not forget them. To us they cry, "Have pity, have pity, at least, you my friend, for the hand of the Lord hath touched me."

As we mourn them today, as we recall their memory in the days to come, I would say that it would be well if we would remember the injunction of Holy Scripture, "That it is a holy and a wholesome thought to pray for the dead."

**Mr. WOLFENDEN** of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Indiana [**Mr. HALLECK**].

**Mr. HALLECK.** Mr. Speaker, in these troublesome times with our Nation and the world at war, we are constantly in the presence of death, stark and sudden. Almost every day we learn of such a death of someone near and dear to us. But not even the present frequency of these unhappy experiences can alleviate the shock occasioned by the sudden, wholly unexpected and tragic death of one so close to us as was our colleague, **J. WILLIAM DITTER**. Those of us who have served with him in the Congress of the United States and all of us who knew him are utterly devastated by the sad news conveyed to us this morning.

I find myself at a loss for words to adequately tell of my love and respect for **BILL DITTER**. Forceful and able, a master of rough and tumble debate, he was yet always kindly and courteous, friendly and fair. A man of his word. A promise made by him was a commitment to be kept. To be helpful to others was one of his greatest desires. Untold scores of us in the Congress and many thousands in the country can bear witness to this plain statement of fact.

Much more might I say of the life and character of my friend, **BILL DITTER**. For this occasion, suffice it to say that he had the complete respect of his colleagues, and greater than that no man can say. His active service was on the

home front, here among his colleagues in the Congress of the United States, but the influence of his earnest and constructive efforts was felt on every front, from the frozen fields of Iceland to the steaming jungles of Guadalcanal. We have lost a friend and the Nation has lost a great and loyal patriot. Truly, a general has fallen.

**Mr. WOLFENDEN** of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [**Mr. TIBBOTT**].

**Mr. TIBBOTT.** Mr. Speaker, all of us mourn the loss of our distinguished colleague, **J. WILLIAM DITTER**. His untimely death is not only a severe shock to the State of Pennsylvania, but the Nation as well.

It is difficult to understand why one of his character should be taken from us so suddenly. A Divine Providence closed the portals on his life at a time when he was standing on the panel of a notable and brilliant career in the Congress of the United States. Though his voice, which always rang out in the true Christian spirit, is now muted, he will live forever in our minds and hearts.

**BILL DITTER** was a devout Christian. He was the sort of man that one felt free to consult. His wise counsel was so often a blessing to a new Member. He had an army of friends and no enemies. He leaves to his family the priceless heritage of a good name and the record of a life full of devotion to his country, his family, and friends.

**Mr. WOLFENDEN** of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [**Mr. GROSS**].

**Mr. GROSS.** Mr. Speaker, this morning as I walked down the Avenue to my office I noticed that the flags were at half mast on the House Office Building. When I inquired and was told that my friend **BILL DITTER** had met such a tragic end within a few miles of my home, it stopped me in my path. I reached my office and was recovering from the shock when I was informed of the passing of our friend, **Mr. STEAGALL**.

It has not been my good fortune to know the gentleman from Alabama intimately, but on last Thursday when he made that marvelous speech here you could get the number of the man by observing him in action then. I shall always think of **HENRY STEAGALL** as I observed him on this floor last Thursday afternoon, fighting for what I know he believed was for the best interests of the country as a whole.

My good friend **DITTER**—and when I say "my good friend" I mean that **BILL** was my friend. I have enjoyed very few personal friendships of this character in my time. We believe in God and when we lose a friend, oftentimes we think about his future. I am not thinking about **BILL DITTER**'s future today. I know that he had religious experiences in his life, that he had a complete knowledge of his creed, and that he enjoyed a strong faith and a lively hope. In that I today find consolation.

I came to the Congress in 1939. I learned to know him during that campaign. He realized that I needed his help, and he always extended it to me. He

called me the landsman. He knew I came from the grass roots. Coming from the grass roots, I soon learned to know that while our good friend, **BILL DITTER**, was a man who had the ability to do big things and did do big things he never overlooked the little things and us little people. In Congress and out of Congress he had one ambition, to further the interests of his country and his party.

While he was big and could have dominated, and while he could have issued orders to us fellows from the grass roots, he never did. He just asked us for our cooperation, if we thought we could go along, and generally we went along because of his strong character and his influence, which was based not on power but on the fine qualities of a Christian gentleman.

I am not concerned today about his future. I am wondering who can take his place.

**Mr. WOLFENDEN** of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I now yield to the gentleman from Indiana [**Mr. LUDLOW**].

**Mr. LUDLOW.** Mr. Speaker, it has been said that misfortunes never come singly. When I arrived at this Chamber at noon I had not heard of the death of **HENRY STEAGALL**. The passing of two such eminent and outstanding Members of the House within 24 hours is indeed a double tragedy. I had the highest respect and admiration for **Mr. STEAGALL**, and in his death I mourn the passing of a wise and useful legislator, an exalted patriot, a great and good man. I extend my deepest sympathy to his family.

It has been a long time since I have had such a shock as I received this morning, when I picked up the paper and read the news of the sudden death of our loved colleague, **Mr. DITTER**. I wish to join in the tributes of deep and genuine sorrow which our colleagues preceding me have paid to him and which we hear on every hand.

It had been my privilege to enjoy intimate acquaintanceship with **Mr. DITTER** as a result of many years of association with him on the Committee on Appropriations and on the Subcommittee on Deficiencies, which has jurisdiction over many matters affecting the Nation's vital interests. It seems tragic beyond words that the chair which he occupied at the committee table only last week is vacant today. His death has left an aching void in the hearts of all of the members of our subcommittee, as it has in the hearts of all who knew him.

I do not think I ever met a more lovable man than **Mr. DITTER** revealed himself to be when you got right next to him and obtained a grasp of his wonderfully kind and ingratiating personality. If in the asperities of debate he by inadvertence said anything that wounded the feelings of an antagonist, he made immediate amends, for he was so warm in his friendship for his fellow men that he would not hurt the sensibilities of any person for anything on earth. I remember once on this floor when he had launched into a criticism of Judge Vinson, I reminded him that the judge had just taken over his office



and could not possibly know about the things he was being criticized for and his reaction was an immediate and abject apology. My reminder had presented the situation in its true light, and he was too great a man, too devoted to principles of justice to want to be unfair to anyone.

He was always considerate and thoughtful of others, and the friendliness which he radiated bound men to him as with hoops of steel. I remember that I once did a small favor for him; it was a very minor circumstance, but he never ceased to be appreciative. He gave the best there was in him to his country and to the service of humanity. We of the committee working circle to which he belonged, who knew him so well and liked him so much, will carry on with sorrow in our hearts and will always think of him as a blessed memory. He was a sweet soul, a loving soul; and as we bid him farewell we might appropriately paraphrase the encomium that Hamlet paid to his father:

He was a man, take him for all in all we shall not see his like again.

Mr. WOLFENDEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I yield now to the gentleman from Ohio [Mrs. BOLTON].

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, like everyone in this House I came to the floor this morning with sorrow in my heart. That two such strong men should be taken from us from one day to the next is a devastating experience for us all.

It was not my privilege to know the honorable gentleman from Alabama, Mr. STEAGALL, more than slightly though in the years since I have been a Member of this House I have learned to have a sincere regard and warm affection for him. His exquisite gentleness, his chivalry, his kindness to all was outstanding in the House, and for myself I shall miss him.

In the sudden dramatic passing of the beloved Member from Pennsylvania, WILLIAM DITTER, there has gone from our midst a man of strong personality who has made for himself a place we all can envy. His was a strong hand, yet a gentle one. To so many of us he has been a close friend, a kind counselor, never asking anything of us, never expecting anything, and yet because he expected nothing of us often forcing us into something perhaps better than ourselves, even though that something would be in disagreement with his own views. To my mind that is a quality that but few people possess: The ability to clarify a subject without partisanship, without bias, leaving you free to form your own conclusions. To me he always showed that capacity.

We talked together many times of life and of the imminence of death, and of its meaning. One day I said to him, After all, is it not true as the ancients have said that if you would know the meaning of death you must seek it in the very heart of life? After all, life is an eternal thing, an eternal flow, a never-ending adventure.

And we would talk sometimes about the various phases of life, of passing from one stage of existence into an-

other. We spoke of the dragon fly, that emerges from its chrysalis, dries its wings, and then without any knowledge of where it is going, flies off into the sun toward the light and the glory. Though it go far on its first day, it comes back to the place from which it took its wings, and hovers over the water, over the place where it was born.

For myself, I like to think that those who have been with us have not gone far, that they still share with us here in these halls, during these very serious times, perhaps in closer communion than we know, the problems that are ours. Surely a spirit such as Mr. STEAGALL's could not go far from that to which he gave so much, and I know that BILL DITTER's heart was here, in the halls where we struggle to keep our country free, to protect her, to give our dream for her reality. Surely they have not gone far! It is for us to pull aside the veils that lie between, that we may hear the message that they still have to give to us as each day we sit here.

I often think that these chairs that look so empty at times are in reality filled to overflowing! How deeply we should feel our responsibilities to interpret for those who are invisible, yes, but still so very potent. After all, the invisible life is closest to the Infinite. Is it not perhaps true that those that we cannot see are perhaps our strongest hope? I lay upon this desk along with all of the eulogies that we have heard these few words with the hope that because these men have been with us, we in our turn may do more truly the service they died to render.

Mr. WOLFENDEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I yield now to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT].

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, in common with all of you, I mourn BILL DITTER as a colleague, as a friend, and as a distinguished Member of this body. To me he was somewhat more than that, because he was for so long a time my neighbor. My home is only a few yards from the beginning of BILL DITTER's district. His home is only a short distance from mine. I have known him since his first term in the Congress and when I came to this body as a very new Member I looked to him as an adviser, as a counselor, and, above everything else, as a sincere, trusted friend.

I knew also the very fine young naval officer who, in common with BILL DITTER, this rain-swept evening which has just passed, also reached out and touched the hand of God. I think as truly as Lieutenant Commander Mansure died on active duty in the service of his country, so also it is fitting and it is proper that we take note that BILL DITTER likewise died in the service of his country, and that it may be said of them as it was said of those fallen valiants who have gone before—

They shall grow not old, as we that are left grow old;

Age shall not weary them, nor the years condemn.

At the going down of the sun and in the morning,

We will remember them.

I had occasion when I read the shocking news this morning to look up the last words that our friend and colleague spoke on the floor of this House. They were so typical of him and his great love for this country that I think they ought to be repeated here as a fitting part of his farewell to us who remain for yet a short time. He said, on the 19th of November in this hall:

As a people we are sorely in need of a re-establishment of faith in the integrity of government.

His belief in the integrity of government, of the Nation which he loved, was reflected in that statement, and in all his life and in all his career; in the estimate of his fellowmen he stood for integrity of purpose and of character.

He knew so well that "upon knowledge is an house builded, with wisdom shall its chambers be filled with all beauteous and pleasant riches," for indeed he had a firm grounding of sound knowledge and he knew the riches of wisdom.

It is with heavy hearts that we say to him at journey's end: "Go with God."

Mr. WOLFENDEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. GAVIN].

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, today we record the passing of two great leaders, HENRY B. STEAGALL and J. WILLIAM DITTER. Mr. STEAGALL I did not know so well, but his last address made a profound impression on me.

Of J. WILLIAM DITTER it can be said he was one of Pennsylvania's outstanding Representatives of all time. "Bill," as we all knew him, was a man whose life was enriched and developed not only by early training but by constant self-discipline in early life, which blended in him gifts and graces which when taken alone are very rare. In all his actions he moved with such ease and courtesy that I think it may be said without exaggeration that wherever he moved he seemed to radiate vitality and charm. He was always calm, strong and self-confident. Never lost his self-possession. Never an unwise act, nor a word spoken in haste or ill-considered. Also, he seemed to have that wider and greater gift—the power of understanding and sympathizing with other people, regardless of whom or what their difficulties may have been. He evidenced a love of people, not so much by honeyed phrases but by good counsel, kind deeds, and useful services.

In all things he had charity. Tolerance was of his nature. He respected in others the quality he possessed himself—sincerity of conviction and frankness of expression.

With him the inquiry was not what a man believed but did he believe it. His lines of friendship and confidants encircled men in every creed. He had a lengthening list of friends in all elements of our social life.

On all problems he responded with an alacrity of a man who had become the willing servant of public duty—always with the same resourcefulness, the same masterly personality which never failed him in any of the fields of action in

which he had been called upon to play his part.

I cannot attempt to grasp and sum up the aggregate of his service in public life in a short space of time, and it is needless; his life comprised a term of some years and produced a performance which I may say genuinely has been by his toil and stimulated by patriotism for his country, a record that has won for him the hearty commendation of the people of his State and Nation.

His abiding faith in the principles of liberty and of the Government, based on the consent of the people as an instrument of human progress, was not the outcome of any vigorous enthusiasm but the deep-rooted growth of long years. He drew his strength from his experience with men and affairs. In all things it can be said he was an American and his ambition was to hand on to posterity and the generation of tomorrow a greater America than was handed on to him.

He had a broad generosity, and extended to his opponents the same sincerity and honesty that he demanded for himself. No man was better equipped for parliamentary warfare than he, with his commanding presence, sinewy diction, and imperturbable self-control.

His genius in politics was a genius of a leader, his dominance based on strength, iron will, irresistible determination, indomitable courage, tireless toil, amazing intellect, and last but not least those qualities of character which command men's trust and confidence.

Such a life as BILL DITTER needs no moralizing from me. His deep and genuine piety—his adherence to his church, his keeping of his own conscience void of offense before God and man, and his characteristics of a spiritual soldier, to me commend our hearty remembrances, more than any other of his accomplishments.

BILL had a goodness of soul, kindness of heart, devotion to duty, and the highest concepts of citizenship. My friends, we will miss the sound of his voice, the grasp of his hand, his hearty laughter, and that fine companionship which we have enjoyed over the years.

For all he tried to do to help his community, his State and his Nation, and his fellowman he regarded as part of his daily routine to be done and not talked about.

BILL was a humble man who delighted in lifting the burdens of life from the shoulders of others. A man who made the best of life as he found it.

A man who rejoiced mightily when any little act or deed of his added to the lives of the rest of us. A man who brought joy to our daily lives and lightened our daily tasks.

So, today, it is with a feeling of deep sadness that we record his passing, and remember him for the many little acts of kindness that have marked his friendship and the good will toward the membership of this House.

We do him this last great honor and may his soul rest in peace.

Mr. WOLFENDEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. GERLACH].

Mr. GERLACH. Mr. Speaker, the shocking news I have received this morning of the tragic death of my good friend and colleague, the Honorable J. WILLIAM DITTER, makes this one of the saddest days of my life.

For almost 5 years I have worked with him, and I know that he used every hour to further his ambition that was not personal, but in the interests of the Nation he loved. His great service to all of America, and to his party, was the service of a high-minded, eager, intensely devoted and loyal person. We, on both sides of the aisle in this House, owe him much for having infused such tremendous energy and influence in our work toward a more peaceful intercourse with other countries.

BILL DITTER was still a young man, and though he had ventured far toward his goal of great usefulness to the Nation he honored and revered, he might still have gone on to even more glorious heights. How far, we do not know, for now, as he crashed in what might well be said was the mid-flight of his career, we know only that there remain broken plans and shattered dreams, the last mortal evidence of a distinguished son of Pennsylvania.

Our Republican Party honored this noble friend with positions of importance and trust. He proved, as a Member of this legislative body, to be a student of government and an astute leader of men. The capability, industry, and energy that marked his every day of life brought him distinction as a public figure, and devotion as a trustworthy friend.

Mr. WOLFENDEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. LANHAM].

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Speaker, words have not been coined to express at a time like this the emotions of the heart. We are doubly sad in the passing of two distinguished and beloved friends and fellow workers. They have gone, through the guidance of their faith, to the home of the faithful. They have departed from this House to a house not made with hands, where all are of one brotherhood.

At such a time, Mr. Speaker, we realize the vital fact that the basic values of life are spiritual, and as we mourn our loss of these two beloved colleagues, one from each side of the aisle, I can think of no more fitting tribute for us to pay their memory than to carry on together in promoting, personally and governmentally, the teachings of the Master for a better America and for a better world.

Mr. WOLFENDEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MURPHY].

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Speaker, I rise on this occasion to say a word of tribute about BILL DITTER, because of the very many acts of kindness he has shown to me since I came to this body.

On our trip to Chester to see the launching of the ships, I learned to know him and love him and respect him and admire him.

I can express my sentiments in no better way than in the prayer, "Eternal rest grant to him, O Lord, and may perpetual light shine upon him."

Mr. WOLFENDEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SHERIDAN].

Mr. SHERIDAN. Mr. Speaker, when the news reached me of the death of BILL DITTER, and sitting here this afternoon and listening to the eulogies paid him, the greatest tribute that has been paid to him by each of our colleagues is that they have referred to him as BILL DITTER. That is the appellation we gave him as a friend. As a colleague you knew him, but I, as a brother member of the bar, knew him in a personal nature. We had been on both sides of the rail, as they say. BILL DITTER was respected and honored and esteemed as an advocate. He went right down the line as one of the most ethical members of the bar of the State of Pennsylvania. I know I speak the sentiment of his friends and brother members of the bar when I say that we join with his family—his widow and his son and daughter—in their hour of bereavement.

Mr. WOLFENDEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have the right to extend their remarks in the Record at this point.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. WOLFENDEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I yield at this time to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCANLON].

Mr. SCANLON. Mr. Speaker, it was with profound sorrow that I heard this morning of the death of our very distinguished and able colleague, BILL DITTER.

A few years ago, when I first came to this House, BILL DITTER was a friend of mine, although he was on the other side of the aisle. He gave me counsel which has helped me greatly in this Congress. We, of Pennsylvania, have lost a great statesman. The Nation has lost a great statesman. Most of all, his wife has lost a devoted husband, and his son and daughter have lost a loving father.

Later on I shall extend my remarks more properly to pay my respects to our beloved friend, BILL DITTER.

Mr. WOLFENDEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FENTON].

Mr. FENTON. Mr. Speaker, the sudden and tragic death of J. WILLIAM DITTER has withdrawn from this House one of the most outstanding Members who ever served in the Capitol, particularly from Pennsylvania. Mr. DITTER's untimely demise has occurred in one of the most momentous periods of our history when, as never before, we are in need of men who, like BILL DITTER, know only one "ism" and that is Americanism. Yes, BILL DITTER's intense love for America made him a bitter and dangerous foe of all "isms" but Americanism. God grant that this spirit of his will carry on until we have the peace which now is his.

To discuss BILL DITTER's many accomplishments would require a great amount of time and unlimited space. Suffice it to say that may Mr. DITTER's accomplishments in the vineyard of his



Master be as great as his achievements in the Congress where he served so well and with such outstanding distinction. A fearless and fair fighter, he is beloved by friend and foe alike. His memory will live long in the hearts of his fellow man whom he so faithfully served.

Mr. Speaker, I mourn with my colleagues from Alabama the loss of Mr. STEAGALL. He was indeed a fine gentleman and we will all miss him.

Mr. WOLFENDEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. KELLEY].

Mr. KELLEY. Mr. Speaker, two of our distinguished and illustrious Members, Mr. HENRY B. STEAGALL and Mr. J. WILLIAM DITTER, have gone to eternity; time has ceased for them. They have gone to their reward which they so richly deserved.

In their labors for years for the common man and the interest of the Nation as a whole they worked diligently and there was a selflessness without thought of what the cost might be to them.

I have a feeling of profound grief this morning and a sense of loss sustained by this body. I wish to extend my sincere and deepest sympathy to their families in their loss.

Mr. WOLFENDEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from California [Mr. ROLPH].

Mr. ROLPH. Mr. Speaker, WILLIAM DITTER, Republican! HENRY STEAGALL, Democrat! Until 3 years ago, when I came to the House, I did not know either of these gentlemen, yet my association with them has become so close that it would seem as though I have known them all my life. I want to pay tribute at this particular time to HENRY STEAGALL, who was the chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee, of which I am a member. My association with him has always been particularly friendly. Although Mr. STEAGALL was leader of the majority and I a very humble member of the minority, he was always courteous, always helpful, and always patient. As a matter of fact, I had an engagement with HENRY STEAGALL for the latter part of this week, after the Commodity Credit Corporation bill was disposed of, to talk over certain legislation I intend to sponsor.

The Nation will be hard put to secure men to fill the places of these two outstanding Americans. I extend affectionate, heartfelt sympathy to their loved ones.

Mr. Speaker, I should like at this time to repeat, in memory of these two great colleagues of ours, words penned by a fellow San Franciscan, Anna Newbegin. These lines are captioned "All's well":

ALL'S WELL

Whatever comes is best—'tis the true way  
That we should meet the hours in faith and  
say,

"What's mine no one can keep or take away.  
I'll give the best in song, in joy, or pain,  
And leave all else without a thought of gain."  
When twilight falls, and rest is mine, with  
care,

My soul can say, "All's well, here, every-  
where."

—Anna Newbegin.

Mr. WOLFENDEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Washington [Mr. COFFEE].

Mr. COFFEE. Mr. Speaker, I know how feeble and inept are mere words orally spoken on this floor as instruments wherewith adequately to convey a con- dign tribute to the memory of two of the most distinguished Members of this body.

The House of Representatives has today indeed sustained a telling and a crushing blow in the shocking news transmitted to us of the sudden passing from our midst of these two renowned statesmen. HENRY STEAGALL has many achievements geared to his memory that will remain long alive in the hearts of men, which must be a consolation ever to his family and a source of solace to them when they recall how in these acts he has helped so much the lot of the plain citizen of the United States. Particularly crushing was it to us to sustain this blow when the bill of which he was the chief protagonist, the continuation of the Commodity Credit Corporation, was scheduled to be up for vote today.

For J. WILLIAM DITTER I have conceived the profoundest admiration and the deepest affection having served with him as a colleague on the Subcommittee on Appropriations dealing with naval appropriations. Day after day I would, figuratively speaking, sit at his feet and listen in the utmost admiration to the words so fluently pouring forth from his lips. BILL DITTER was gifted as are few men endowed with the power of felicitous and extemporaneous expression. He was a great lawyer, a scholar, patriot, and, above all, a humanitarian. His heart was as big as the world, and although often on this floor in sharp debate he would engage in colloquies with Members on the opposite side of the aisle on political discussions, we could always take without asperity from Bill the good-natured criticisms he enjoyed making in respect to Democratic Party policies, because we knew that he had a keen sense of humor and a flashing wit which softened the sting in any argument he might make. His spirit was magnanimous, his soul was big, his interests were all embracing. Yes; we can ill afford to lose these two men from the House of Representatives. I think it very fitting and proper that the Members of the House in such numbers today are moved to go down into the Well and from their hearts let flow a few words that may in some measure mitigate the severity of the blow and the intensity of the grief for the surviving members of the families of these two statesmen who have today gone from among us.

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, two great statesmen, both dear friends of mine, Hon. HENRY STEAGALL and Hon. J. WILLIAM DITTER, have within the past few hours been called from our midst. I shall at this time speak only of Hon. J. WILLIAM DITTER of the State of Pennsylvania. It is difficult when the heart is full to give expression to the affection which one feels for a departed friend. I must confess that seldom has the unexpected passing of a friend inflicted a deeper wound upon my heart than the

sudden and tragic death of him whom we all affectionately addressed as "Bill." While we have each lost one of the finest and truest friends, the great State of Pennsylvania has lost an outstanding statesman who has represented one of its congressional districts with marked ability and fidelity. The range of the influence of Hon. J. WILLIAM DITTER was not only State-wide but Nation-wide. It has been said that no man is worth more than he contributes to the social, civic, and spiritual upbuilding of his community, State, and Nation. Measured by the contributions of our dear friend "BILL" DITTER in these three fields of endeavor he has won the only true worth to which a man of his excellent character would aspire.

I extend my deepest sympathy in this time of their great grief to Mrs. Ditter and to the other members of his family.

Mr. WOLVERTON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, today we are saddened by the news that has come to us of the passing away of our esteemed colleague, J. WILLIAM DITTER, of Pennsylvania. There was nothing that more certainly evidenced the friendly feeling of the Members of this House toward him than the custom of each to call him "Bill." It indicated above all else the affectionate regard in which he was held by the membership of this House, Democrats and Republicans, alike. He was a kindly soul, friendly to all and always anxious to be helpful to all.

His memory will linger long and pleasantly with all who have had the privilege of acquaintanceship with him. It was my privilege to know him intimately. We were closely associated. As a result of this intimate friendship I knew the fine qualities of character and mind he possessed. Above all else he had the courage of his convictions, and, yet he could press his point in debate with vigor and strength without offending those with differing views. He was willing to acknowledge to them the same sincerity of purpose that characterized his own actions and words. "BILL" DITTER was a big man in every sense of the word.

He has served his Nation and State faithfully and well. He always thought in terms of the welfare of the Nation and its people. His service in building and strengthening our naval forces will ever be a monument to his love of country and his fidelity to the best interests of national defense and security.

The life that he has lived in our midst can well be an inspiration to each of us, who remain, to serve with equal courage, vision, and singleness of purpose. In the measure that we do so, then, to that extent will we merit similar tribute to that which has been so fittingly expressed today toward our deceased colleague.

Mr. O'NEAL. Mr. Speaker, the most satisfying reward for service in Congress is in the friendships which are made and in the daily contact with worth-while colleagues.

I have sat with WILLIAM DITTER from 2 to 4 hours a day for months at a time as a Member of the Appropriations Committee. I knew him well from daily observation and under conditions which



bring into the open the true abilities and character of men. We have agreed often, we have battled often.

He had a remarkable facility of expression, a brilliant intellect, great courage and determination, and the capacity for friendship possessed only by men who are true, sincere, and fine in their thinking and living.

To have had such a friend as WILLIAM DITTER is to increase your faith in human nature, and to lose him brings a sorrow and a sense of loss that cannot be expressed.

Mr. MONKIEWICZ. Mr. Speaker, the Congress of the United States was shocked with the news of the untimely death of the Honorable J. WILLIAM DITTER, of Pennsylvania.

In these trying days when strong men are sought for leadership, the Congress of the United States was most fortunate in having among its numbers a colleague to whom it could look for such leadership. By far the outstanding debater on the floor of the House of Representatives, he always guided his argument within the bounds of ethics. No problem was too difficult for him to deal with to the minutest detail. A keen and thorough analyst he was blessed with such fluency that he was able to make difficult tasks appear simple. Well grounded in the history of our country, he was well equipped to handle any task assigned to him. His sense of humor made the duller topic interesting. As a political leader he had the affection of those with whom he was associated and commanded the respect of his opponents. While he was a keen contestant, he was always kind to his rival. He was the idol of lovers of debate.

The House of Representatives in the demise of J. WILLIAM DITTER has lost an orator, who will be missed in these trying moments.

I join with all my other colleagues in expressing my deep and sincere feelings and sympathy to the members of his family.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I desire to pay my tribute to one of the outstanding Members of the House of Representatives who has gone before us, the Honorable J. WILLIAM DITTER, of Pennsylvania. Last week he was among us, but on yesterday he was snatched away; we mourn his untimely death today.

Our fine colleague, who was strong in character, lovable by nature, dynamic in his presentation of the facts on every issue, pleasing in personality, and loyal in his friendships, was a great statesman and one of the outstanding legislators in this body.

It is tragic, indeed, that life must cease. Life is sweet to every citizen. The end comes all too soon, and the cares and responsibilities which have been assumed must be laid aside to be taken over by another. That is the roadway which all must travel. Yet it is extremely regrettable, at this moment, to have great men suddenly taken away from our midst when the demands are great upon the master minds of our country. We need men today as we have never needed them before. The demands upon those in high

legislative positions are greater than ever before. We need their counsel, their wisdom, and their advice.

Mr. Speaker, today we suffer a dual loss in this Chamber. Our colleague, Representative STEAGALL, of Alabama, has answered the summons this morning. My loyal and personal friend, Representative DITTER, of Pennsylvania, suffered death yesterday evening in a most unfortunate airplane crash. The passing of these two outstanding Members of the House is a heavy blow indeed. We can ill-afford to lose any of our Members at this trying period in the history of our country. These two Members were leaders in the House, and it is a sad hour as we reflect that they will be with us no more. They have crossed the bar—their duties on earth have been completed.

Mr. Speaker, as we reflect upon the suddenness of the departure of our friends we are constrained to value their lives' work and the result of their efforts. My friend of a few hours ago, WILL DITTER, was a human dynamo of energy; he was constantly working for the best interest of his country; he was both keen and fearless in debate; he was never known to resort to uncompromising tactics as he matched his wits against another; he was kind and considerate, as he was good; he was a genuine friend to all, and his sturdy loyalty was his badge of honor as he walked along the pathways of life. He was a Christian gentleman, husband, and father. During the years he taught in our schools, and in the afteryears when he engaged in the practice of his chosen profession—the law—he carried those ideals into the national legislative halls, where he stood foursquare for his country and the Constitution of the United States of America.

Mr. Speaker, thus we behold the life and character of our friend, our friend in his better days, WILL DITTER. His works stand before us. We cannot pronounce any encomium for him—he needs none. His life and his accomplishments stand stalwart and alone; they are his own memorial; they reflect their beauty and their splendor before us.

My humble tribute to him, my friend, I give in the words of a great hero in the days gone by: "This was a man."

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Speaker, it is with sad hearts that we convene today. I came to my office shortly after eight this morning, much depressed because of the untimely death of BILL DITTER of Pennsylvania. Between that time and 10 o'clock, the Death Angel had knocked at our door again. This time it was HENRY STEAGALL, of Alabama. These gentlemen were typical representatives of their people in this great parliamentary body. Each was a leader in his own right. Each wore spurs of his own winning. They were credits to their respective districts, their States, and, yes, they were both national figures, and deservedly so. HENRY STEAGALL was one of my early acquaintances in Congress. I met him first in 1919. He was a typical southern gentleman of the old school, always kind, gentle, and considerate of the other fellow. During all these years I have never heard him utter an unkind,

vindictive, or a stinging word on the floor, in the committee room, or in private conversation. This can be said of few men, but this was HENRY STEAGALL.

The laudatory eulogies of those who have preceded me today are not extravagant. They are real. They are genuine. If ever a man died in the harness, working for a cause in which he sincerely believed, that man was HENRY STEAGALL. He was an outstanding Democrat and, as stated in his speech on the floor last Thursday, it was his pleasure, and he considered it his duty, to go along with his political party, if and when he could do so without doing violence to his best judgment and his conscience. Surely it was distasteful for him to take the position which he took in that last memorable speech. Yet again, this is the type of man he was. We need more of HENRY STEAGALL's sincerity and independence in the Halls of Congress.

While he had but 10 years' service in the House, no Member was better and more favorably known than J. WILLIAM DITTER. He was an exceptional individual in many particulars. He was a statesman of high order. He was an outstanding debater. With a splendid vocabulary, a keen analytical mind, a pleasing personality, he was a factor to be reckoned with in every phase of congressional life.

Yes, BILL DITTER was a politician, and I use this word in its highest connotation. He was a student of the science of government. He was a disciple of American constitutional philosophy. He was a thorough believer in the American way of life, and was loath to be led astray by isms, promises, or what have you. He knew that our form of government was based upon the two-party system and he always responded to the defense of that system. As between the two great parties, he was a Republican by conviction. He believed in a majority rule. He was a political partisan but never permitted that partisanship to interfere with Americanism. He set a splendid example which was most helpful, most inspiring, and most beneficial, especially to the newer Members. The esteem in which he was held is well exemplified by the splendid things that have been said here today.

Mr. Speaker, any additional words of mine would be but repetition, and I conclude by saying that it is a privilege to pay my tribute of honor, love, and respect to the life, character, and memory of my good friend, BILL DITTER.

Mr. MILLER of Connecticut. Mr. Speaker, our hearts are heavy and our minds fall to function as they should. We are saddened by the announcement of the death of two distinguished American gentlemen, with long years of service in the House of Representatives.

The Honorable J. WILLIAM DITTER or, as he was affectionately known, BILL DITTER, was the first Member of Congress that I called upon after my election, November 1938. I will never forget that first visit with BILL DITTER. As I was leaving his office, he asked, "Where do you want to go from here?" and when I told him that I wanted to call at the



office of the Clerk of the House, he took me over to the Capitol and introduced me to Mr. Trimble. Later I found out that such thoughtfulness was typical of BILL DITTER. I have always felt free to call on him for advice. He was never too busy to talk to a new Member of the House.

In January 1939, it was my good fortune to be assigned to the Banking and Currency Committee. I soon learned to respect and admire the chairman of that committee, the Honorable HENRY STEAGALL. I loved to listen to his homely illustrations. I recall many of the things he said to us in his address to the House on Thursday last. Many of us smiled when he said, "I have been home recently and it is good to go home." He may have been referring to political considerations, but I think he also meant that it is good to go home in another way. He loved Alabama and he loved to go home.

To know both of these distinguished gentlemen has been a privilege. The lives of those who came in contact with them have been enriched. May I extend my deepest sympathy to the bereaved families of our two departed comrades, who meant so much to both of them.

"It is good to go home"—and these colleagues of ours have but gone home. The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will later announce the committees to accompany the remains of the late Mr. STEAGALL.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MARTIN].

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, for the information of the House may I say that funeral services for the Honorable J. WILLIAM DITTER will be held on Wednesday afternoon at 2 p. m. from the Methodist Church in Ambler, Pa.

The SPEAKER. The Chair announces as members of the committee to accompany the remains of the late Mr. DITTER the following: MESSRS. WOLFENDEN of Pennsylvania, KINZER, SIMPSON of Pennsylvania, RODGERS of Pennsylvania, GRAHAM, TABER, WIGGLESWORTH, WALTERS, BRADLEY of Pennsylvania, and CANNON of Missouri.

#### ADJOURNMENT

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, as a further mark of respect to the memory of our departed colleagues the distinguished gentleman from Alabama [Mr. STEAGALL] and the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DITTER], I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 2 o'clock and 53 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, November 23, 1943, at 12 o'clock noon.

#### COMMITTEE HEARINGS

##### COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The Committee on Foreign Affairs will resume consideration on Tuesday, November 23, 1943, at 10 a. m., on House Resolutions 350 and 352, providing for

the establishment by the Executive of a commission to effectuate the rescue of the Jewish people of Europe.

##### COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

There will be a meeting of a subcommittee of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, at 2 p. m., Tuesday, November 23, 1943.

Business to be considered: A hearing on the bill, H. R. 2862, "A bill to amend section 31 of the Securities Exchange Act of 1934."

##### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. CLARK: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 360. Resolution for the consideration of H. R. 3687, a bill to provide revenue, and for other purposes; without amendment (Rept. No. 878). Referred to the House Calendar.

##### PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. RIVERS:

H. R. 3703. A bill relating to longevity pay of certain Army personnel; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 3704. A bill to provide pay and allowances for temporary members of the Coast Guard Reserve during periods of disability resulting from injuries sustained or disease contracted in active service during the present war, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. BUFFETT:

H. R. 3705. A bill to amend the act relating to the construction and maintenance of a bridge across the Missouri River at or near Nebraska City, Nebr.; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. SCANLON:

H. R. 3706. A bill to postpone discharges of members of the military and naval forces for 1 year during which time they shall be in the Reserves, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SHAFER:

H. R. 3707. A bill to amend the Tariff Act of 1930, with respect to the duty on waterleaf paper; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H. R. 3708. A bill to provide a national cemetery in every State and such additional national cemeteries as the Secretary of War determines to be needed; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

##### PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. CHENOWETH:

H. R. 3709. A bill for the relief of Harley E. Carter; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. GREEN:

H. R. 3710. A bill for the relief of Jacob Wilkes Beasley; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. MERRITT:

H. R. 3711. A bill to authorize the presentation to James J. Conroy of a Distinguished Service Cross; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

##### PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of the rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerks' desk and referred as follows:

3666. By Mr. SCHIFFLER: Petition of Alto Brant Cipolletti and other citizens of Follansbee, W. Va., opposing House bill 2082; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3667. Also, petition of C. R. Orton, chairman of the West Virginia State Planning Board, endorsing and urging the location of a pilot plant in West Virginia for the production of oil, gasoline, and other valuable and essential byproducts from bituminous coal; to the Committee on Mines and Mining.

3668. By Mr. LEWIS of Ohio: Petition of Della Armstrong and 29 other residents of Barnesville, Ohio, urging passage of House bill 2082; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3669. By Mr. FLOESER: Petition of John J. Notz and 20 petitioners of St. Louis, Mo., protesting against the enactment of any and all prohibition legislation; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3670. Also, petition of Carl Mull and 20 petitioners of St. Louis, Mo., protesting against the enactment of any and all prohibition legislation; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3671. Also, petition of E. J. Smith and 20 petitioners of St. Louis, Mo., protesting against the enactment of any and all prohibition legislation; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3672. Also, petition of Fred Pillner and 20 petitioners of St. Louis, Mo., protesting against the enactment of any and all prohibition legislation; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3673. By Mr. SCRIVNER: Petition of sundry citizens of Kansas City, Wyandotte County, Kans., urging passage of House bill 2082, to reduce absenteeism, conserve manpower, and speed production of materials necessary for the winning of the war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3674. By Mr. BRYSON: Petition of Nora J. Borden and 56 other citizens of Waterloo, Iowa, urging enactment of House bill 2082, a measure to reduce absenteeism, conserve manpower, and speed production of materials necessary for the winning of the war by prohibiting the manufacture, sale, or transportation of alcoholic liquors in the United States for the duration of the war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3675. Also, petition of 47 members of the Salem Covenant Church, Duluth, Minn., urging enactment of House bill 2082, a measure to reduce absenteeism, conserve manpower, and speed production of materials necessary for the winning of the war by prohibiting the manufacture, sale, or transportation of alcoholic liquors in the United States for the duration of the war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3676. Also, petition of Mrs. B. R. Davis and 77 other citizens of Wilkinsburg, Pa., urging enactment of House bill 2082, a measure to reduce absenteeism, conserve manpower, and speed production of materials necessary for the winning of the war by prohibiting the manufacture, sale, or transportation of alcoholic liquors in the United States for the duration of the war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3677. Also, petition of C. F. McBride and 73 other citizens of Struthers, Ohio, urging enactment of House bill 2082, a measure to reduce absenteeism, conserve manpower, and speed production of materials necessary for the winning of the war by prohibiting the manufacture, sale, or transportation of alcoholic liquors in the United States for the duration of the war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3678. Also, petition of Rev. Revilo M. Stan-dish and 38 members of Grace Methodist

Church, St. Petersburg, Fla., urging enactment of House bill 2082, a measure to reduce absenteeism, conserve manpower, and speed production of materials necessary for the winning of the war by prohibiting the manufacture, sale, or transportation of alcoholic liquors in the United States for the duration of the war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3679. Also, petition of Mrs. Bailey Hubbard and 44 members of Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Alba, Mo., urging enactment of House bill 2082, a measure to reduce absenteeism, conserve manpower, and speed production of materials necessary for the winning of the war by prohibiting the manufacture, sale, or transportation of alcoholic liquors in the United States for the duration of the war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3680. Also, petition of Rev. C. R. Heisey and 146 members of the Brethren in Christ Church, Upland, Calif., urging enactment of House bill 2082, a measure to reduce absenteeism, conserve manpower, and speed production of materials necessary for the winning of the war by prohibiting the manufacture, sale, or transportation of alcoholic liquors in the United States for the duration of the war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3681. Also, petition of Rev. S. E. Boyle and 45 citizens of Sterling, Kans., urging enactment of House bill 2082, a measure to reduce absenteeism, conserve manpower, and speed production of materials necessary for the winning of the war by prohibiting the manufacture, sale, or transportation of alcoholic liquors in the United States for the duration of the war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3682. Also, petition of Mamie A. Miller and 88 citizens of Denver, Colo., urging enactment of House bill 2082, a measure to reduce absenteeism, conserve manpower, and speed production of materials necessary for the winning of the war by prohibiting the manufacture, sale, or transportation of alcoholic liquors in the United States for the duration of the war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3683. Also, petition of Mrs. C. M. Pickler and 120 other citizens of Memphis, Tenn., urging enactment of House bill 2082, a measure to reduce absenteeism, conserve manpower, and speed production of materials necessary for the winning of the war by prohibiting the manufacture, sale, or transportation of alcoholic liquors in the United States for the duration of the war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3684. Also, petition of Rev. C. E. Belew and 106 citizens of Strong City, Okla., urging enactment of House bill 2082, a measure to reduce absenteeism, conserve manpower, and speed production of materials necessary for the winning of the war by prohibiting the manufacture, sale, or transportation of alcoholic liquors in the United States for the duration of the war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3685. Also, petition of Mrs. C. Hollebrands and 93 other citizens of Chicago, Ill., urging enactment of House bill 2082, a measure to reduce absenteeism, conserve manpower, and speed production of materials necessary for the winning of the war by prohibiting the manufacture, sale, or transportation of alcoholic liquors in the United States for the duration of the war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3686. Also, petition of Laura R. Ecker and 18 citizens of Pottstown, Pa., urging enactment of House bill 2082, a measure to reduce

absenteeism, conserve manpower, and speed production of materials necessary for the winning of the war by prohibiting the manufacture, sale, or transportation of alcoholic liquors in the United States for the duration of the war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3687. Also, petition of Rev. F. D. Walker and 91 members of Church of Christ, Jamestown, Ohio, urging enactment of House bill 2082, a measure to reduce absenteeism, conserve manpower, and speed production of materials necessary for the winning of the war by prohibiting the manufacture, sale, or transportation of alcoholic liquors in the United States for the duration of the war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3688. Also, petition of Gertrude Duteil and 21 other citizens of North College Hill, Ohio, urging enactment of House bill 2082, a measure to reduce absenteeism, conserve manpower, and speed production of materials necessary for the winning of the war by prohibiting the manufacture, sale, or transportation of alcoholic liquors in the United States for the duration of the war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3689. Also, petition of Mrs. William North and 32 other citizens of Erie, Pa., urging enactment of House bill 2082, a measure to reduce absenteeism, conserve manpower, and speed production of materials necessary for the winning of the war by prohibiting the manufacture, sale, or transportation of alcoholic liquors in the United States for the duration of the war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3690. Also, petition of Mrs. E. T. Koska and 20 other citizens of Arlington Heights, Ill., urging enactment of House bill 2082, a measure to reduce absenteeism, conserve manpower, and speed production of materials necessary for the winning of the war by prohibiting the manufacture, sale, or transportation of alcoholic liquors in the United States for the duration of the war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3691. Also, petition of Grant H. Cole and 26 other citizens of Spokane, Wash., urging enactment of House bill 2082, a measure to reduce absenteeism, conserve manpower, and speed production of materials necessary for the winning of the war by prohibiting the manufacture, sale, or transportation of alcoholic liquors in the United States for the duration of the war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3692. Also, petition of Rev. Ernest L. Decker and 80 members of the First Presbyterian Church of Canon City, Colo., urging enactment of House bill 2082, a measure to reduce absenteeism, conserve manpower, and speed production of materials necessary for the winning of the war by prohibiting the manufacture, sale, or transportation of alcoholic liquors in the United States for the duration of the war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3693. Also, petition of Rev. J. G. Burt Easton and 50 other citizens of Vestal, N. Y., urging enactment of House bill 2082, a measure to reduce absenteeism, conserve manpower, and speed production of materials necessary for the winning of the war by prohibiting the manufacture, sale, or transportation of alcoholic liquors in the United States for the duration of the war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3694. By Mr. FISH: Petition of Zebulon Davis, of Patterson, N. Y., and 30 other residents of the Twenty-sixth Congressional District, requesting the passage of House bill

2082, introduced by Hon. JOSEPH R. BRYSON, of South Carolina, to reduce absenteeism, conserve manpower, and speed production of materials necessary for the winning of the war by prohibiting the manufacture, sale, or transportation of alcoholic liquors in the United States for the duration of the war and until the termination of mobilization; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3695. Also, petition of the Rogers Liquor Co., Inc., of Albany, N. Y., together with 41 other residents of Fishkill and other towns in the Twenty-sixth Congressional District, protesting against the passage of House bill 2082, known as the Bryson bill, which would impose complete prohibition for the duration of the war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3696. By Mr. HORAN: Petition of A. L. Curtis and 85 other members of the Brig & Fo'c'sle Club of Spokane, Wash., protesting against the passage of legislation designed to bring about prohibition under the guise of a war measure or otherwise, with particular reference to House bill 2082 and Senate bill 860; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3697. By Mr. HEIDINGER: Communication signed by Agnes Choisser, Percy T. Choisser, Eugene B. Goe, and Ruth Mills, all of Eldorado, Ill., opposing Senate bill 1161; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

3698. Also, petition signed by Milton J. Dold and others, of Flora, Ill., opposing section 3 of House bill 3477; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

3699. By Mr. COCHRAN: Resolution adopted by the American Hebrew Aid Society of St. Louis, favoring the passage of House bills 49 and 2328; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

3700. By Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin: Petition of the Janesville Production Credit Association, Janesville, Wis.; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

3701. By Mr. HORAN: Petition of the Bowling Operators Association of Seattle, Wash., protesting against the new excise tax planned for bowling alleys and billiard tables; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

3702. Also, petition of Della Krehbiel and 14 other residents of Odessa, Wash., urging the promotion of House bill 2849 and toward getting Senate bill 637 out of committee as it was originally introduced; to the Committee on Education.

3703. By Mr. GRAHAM: Petition of the Democratic Women's Club, of Slippery Rock Township, Pa., urging the unimpaired continuance of the agricultural program of the triple A as inaugurated by Congress in 1938 with all the forces necessary to carry on a progressive program in these desperate days of need; to the Committee on Agriculture.

3704. By Mr. FITZPATRICK: Petition signed by members of the Consumers Service Center, of the Bronx, N. Y., opposing the passage of House bill 3744 and favoring the payment of subsidies to prevent price increases or to roll-back prices; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

3705. By Mr. LUDLOW: Petition of sundry residents of the State of Indiana, favoring the enactment of Senate bill 1161 and House bill 2861; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

3706. By the SPEAKER: Petition of the acting director, Michigan Board of Aeronautics, protesting against the passage of House bill 3420, affecting air commerce; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.